Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-94-218 *10 November 1994*

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Greek 'Cams' Protest Accusations, Demand Action

AU0911170194 Tirana ATDHEU in Albanian 29 Oct 94 p 8

[Letter from the Association of Cams of Tirana to Greek Foreign Minister Papoulias; place and date not given]

[Text] We, the Cam refugees based in Tirana since leaving Cameria because of the horrible massacres inflicted on us by the Greek Zervist bands, express our indignation and protest against the accusation made against us by the Greek representative in the UN Assembly when he said that "The Cams actively collaborated with the Axis powers during the occupation of Greece and later, for obvious reasons, decided to flee to Albania together with their Nazi fascist masters, settling there in 1946." These allegations run completely counter to the historical truth—which has been confirmed even by Greek writers—and are aimed at concealing the Greek government's lack of goodwill and desire to peacefully resolve the Cam problem.

Conscious of the fact that the current Greek Government cannot be held responsible for massacres and ethnic cleansing that took place in Cameria 50 years ago, particularly as all this happened during wartime, we are nonetheless fully convinced that the Greek Government cannot escape its responsibility to repatriate us and restore our property, because we are still Greek subjects and none of us has officially applied to the competent Greek authorities to renounce our Greek citizenship.

We therefore demand that the Greek Government approach these problems realistically and not embroil itself in the extreme nationalism represented by the priest of Konitsa. Before concerning itself with the problems of Albanian subjects, even if they are of Greek nationality, this government should first commit itself to resolving our problem, the problem of its subjects of Albanian nationality. By purifying its conscience and that of the Greek people regarding the wound of Cameria, the Greek government will render a real service to friendship between the Greek and Albanian peoples and to peace and stability in the Balkans.

Finally, we believe you should arrange a meeting for us with the Greek ambassador to Tirana, at any time that you deem appropriate.

Respectfully yours,

[Signed] The Association of Cams of Tirana

Party Official Presents Alternatives to Referendum

AU0911184394 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 9 Nov 94

[Report by Antoneta Malja on news conference by Skender Gjinushi, chairman of the Social Democratic Party, held at the Palace of Congresses in Tirana on 9 November]

[FBIS Translated Text] For over half an hour, Social Democratic Party [PSD] Chairman Skender Gjinushi addressed reporters, association chairmen, and other participants at a news conference and presented his personal alternatives to the 6 November referendum. Among other things, Gjinushi suggested that the time had come for other parties, not just two opposition parties, to have their say. The time when two opposing parties do the governing is gone, he said.

Speaking of those leaders in his party who voted in favor of the Constitution, he said this was an unpardonable act. It is not the chairman's duty to deal with them.

Answering reporters' questions, Gjinushi stressed that there was very little time for the people to discuss the referendum; parliament was perfectly capable of discussing it; and after all, economic problems are the determinants. According to Gjinushi, holding the referendum constituted interference in party affairs and was not against the Constitution.

He concluded that a constitution could be drafted quickly by using another more suitable model and agreeing to it.

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Presidential Decree Names Caretaker Cabinet

95P20145A Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK No 85 18 Oct 94 p 1

["Text" of Decree No. 210, issued by President of the Republic Zhelyu Zhelev in Sofia on 17 October]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Decree No. 210

On the basis of Article 99, Paragraph 5, of the Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria, I hereby decree the appointment of the following:

1. Reneta Ivanova Indzhova as caretaker prime minister of the Republic of Bulgaria.

2. Khristina Angelova Vucheva as caretaker deputy prime minister and caretaker minister of finance.

3. Ivaylo Pelov Trifonov as caretaker deputy prime minister.

4. Nikola Bozhilov Vasilev as caretaker deputy prime minister and caretaker minister of health.

5. Chavdar Vel'ov Chervenkov as caretaker minister of internal affairs.

6. Rumen Dimitrov Khristov as caretaker minister of agriculture.

7. Marko Markov Todorov as caretaker minister of science and education.

8. Ivaylo Boyanov Znepolski as caretaker minister of culture.

9. Valentin Mirchev Bosevski as caretaker minister of the environment.

10. Boyko Nikolov Noev as caretaker minister of defense.

11. Teodor Antonov Chipev as caretaker minister of justice.

12. Vitko Iliev Elenkov as caretaker minister of industry.

13. Milcho Dimitrov Kovachev as caretaker minister of transportation.

14. Daniel Mois Leviev as caretaker minister of territorial development and construction.

15. Yordan Atanasov Khristoskov as caretaker minister of labor and social welfare.

16. Kiril Asparukhov Velev as caretaker minister of trade.

The decree is issued in Sofia on 17 October 1994 and sealed with the official state seal.

President of the Republic: Zhelyu Zhelev

BSP Leader Videnov Returns From Greek Visit

AU1011095394 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 11 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] On 10 November Zhan Videnov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], returned from an official visit to Greece, made at the invitation of the ruling Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement [PASOK].

Mr. Videnov met and had talks with the prime minister, foreign minister, and PASOK leadership. Relations between Bulgaria and Greece, the all-Balkan process, preserving peace in the region, and relations between the two parties were discussed.

Former President Mladenov Criticizes West

AU0911204194 Paris AFP in English 1810 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sofia, Nov 9 (AFP)—Bulgaria's first president after the fall of the hardline communists, Petar Mladenov, on Wednesday [9 November] accused western nations of snubbing his country five years after the introduction of western-style reforms.

"The West encouraged reforms but once they were implemented it turned the back on us with the selfishness of the rich and slammed shut its markets to our produce and its borders to our citizens," said Mladenov in an interview with AFP.

Mladenov, who spoke on the eve of the fifth anniversary of the ouster of communist hardliner Todor Zhivkov, said the decision taken by his successors to turn their backs on Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States "was not very wise."

Bulgaria was one of the satellites of the Soviet Union and a close follower of Soviet policies in the now disbanded Warsaw Pact military alliance.

It imported 90 percent of its commodities from the Soviet Union and exported half of its production to its longtime ally, according to Mladenov.

Mladenov, a Bulgarian foreign minister between 1971 and 1989 and leader of pro-reform communists, resigned in July 1990 under public pressure and has retired from politics.

He has backed Bulgaria's bid for NATO membership.

Mladenov said the fall of communism five years ago was "inevitable." Pro-reform communists spearheaded the country's peaceful transition avoiding a "bloodbath like in Romania," he said.

Romania's communist dictator Nicolae Ceausescu was ousted in December 1989, a month and a half after Zhivkov, and executed with his wife after a bloody crackdown on protesters by his secret police.

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President Voices 'Hopes' for Better Legislature

AU1011110594 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 10 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In an interview for the national radio's "Khristo Botev" program President Zhelev expressed his disappointment with the developments in Bulgaria over the last five years and his hopes related to Bulgaria's future democratic development.

When asked whether stable legislative and executive powers will emerge in the country after the upcoming elections, President Zhelev responded that the changes that must be effected in Bulgaria are possible only if we look forward. Further on President Zhelev said:

[Begin Zhelev recording] We all have hopes. After all, this is why we decided to hold early elections—and elections, as you know, are not a cheap pleasure. We all hope that the new parliament, the 37th National Assembly, will be better and more responsible, and will function better than the 36th National Assembly. This means that it will adopt the most important laws the country needs in order to develop. At the same we hope that the new parliament will produce a strong executive capable of conducting the reforms, because nothing can be done without a strong executive. One of the greatest shortcomings of the 36th National Assembly was its inability to produce a strong government. By failing, the government also doomed the National Assembly. [end recording]

Agreement Signed for Joint Election Ticket

AU1011110694 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 10 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] On 10 November Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], and Ivan Glushkov, chairman of the Christian-Agrarian Party, signed a political agreement that regulates participation in the election with a joint list and ticket.

In the future National Assembly, the Christian-Agrarian Party will be a part of the SDS parliamentary faction. The party also has a promise of participation in the executive power.

After signing the agreement, Dimitrov said that the Christian-Agrarian Party has always supported the democratic forces, even at the most difficult moments, such as after the fall of the SDS government.

Commentary Analyzes Opposition Election Defeat

AU0911170694 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 1 Nov 94 p 5

[Commentary by Goran Gotev: "Formula for Defeat: Rightist Policy for Leftist Voters"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The second round of the elections in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] has ended, and we need not wait for the results. They were known in advance. The so-called leftist people's coalition Alliance for Macedonia won the elections. This alliance comprises three ruling parties. All three are direct heirs of the League of Yugoslav Communists. The ethnic-Albanian Party of Democratic Prosperity also won. Since the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity and the Democratic Party boycotted the second round of the elections, only Social-Democrats, Socialists, Liberals, and Albanians will sit in parliament.

The opposition revealed many irregularities, mass forgery, and even spoke of an "election putsch." The foreign observers do not share this opinion, although it is not sure whether they think the way they do because they indeed verified that the elections were honest or because they do not want to place a question mark over the election results thereby further destabilizing the situation in this young Balkan state.

One thing is certain: Even before the elections, no one forecast a victory for the opposition. Why? Because unlike the ruling parties, the opposition appeared divided at the elections, because it described itself as a rightist force in one of the most impoverished republics of the former Yugoslavia, and because at a moment when a war is being waged near the Macedonian borders, it promised the voters shocks instead of security. The simple citizens of Macedonia remember with nostalgia the prosperity during Tito's time. They remember the 800-German-mark average monthly salary, and the free food, transportation to their workplaces, and medical services. The opposition offered the same things that turned the people in neighboring Bulgaria into beggars. Security, security, and more security—this is what the voters in the "new democracies" want; and those who can offer it to them in a convincing manner can count on their votes.

Selecting the road of boycott and so-called peaceful civic resistance, the opposition demonstrated that is not prepared to play according to the rules of the democratic game. Democracy's other name is the ability to accept a loss. Otherwise, when you win tomorrow, your opponents too will refuse to accept your victory. The Macedonian opposition should have at least known that the time of "velvet revolutions," actions of civic disobedience, "tent cities," and "free anticommunist territories" in Europe is irrevocably over. Is it so difficult to understand that when war threatens to burn your house down all you want is peace and bread? You are prepared to wait for everything else.

It is too early to tell whether there will be early elections in the spring, as the two Macedonian national and democratic parties promise. Until then, however, they have enough time to understand that to propagate rightist ideas when almost all of East Europe is making a turn to the left could mean only one thing: You will be left out.

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Havel on Visegrad Four, European Integration

AU1011081494 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 3 Nov 94 p 7

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Lubos Palata in Prague; date not given: "Vaclav Havel; The Time of Great Joint Gestures Is Over"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—*President Vaclav Havel believes that consultations between the Visegrad Four countries on problems of their integration into Western structures would be worthwhile. According to him, it would be appropriate if Germany and Austria also participated in cooperation between Central European countries. He said in a MLADA FRONTA DNES interview that the integration of the Czech Republic into NATO should precede its membership in the European Union.*

[Palata] The necessity of cooperation between the Visegrad Group countries has often been questioned, above all by the Czech side. Are you personally in favor of such cooperation, and, if so, which directions should it take primarily?

[Havel] Visegrad cooperation should not be institutionalized. There should be no impression that it is some kind of bloc or that it is an alternative to integration into West Europe.

The time for having to demonstrate our unity by great demonstrative gestures because we needed to jointly abolish the Warsaw Pact, free ourselves from the Soviet hegemony, and drive the troops out of the country is over. It is now time for everyday work.

Regional cooperation is moving onto a practical plane. I believe this is in order. It would not be good, however, if this were interpreted as an aversion to regional cooperation or even snobbery. It is simply a shift that moves our cooperation to different levels.

[Palata] Hungarian President Arpad Goncz said during your talks that it would be good if the Central European states regularly jointly consulted on integration problems into the European structures. Do you believe such consultations are really necessary?

[Havel] I am not certain whether they should be regular or irregular. I certainly do believe, however, that an exchange of experiences and conceivable cooperation, wherever beneficial to all participating parties, cannot harm anyone and can only be good. I do not see the slightest reason why we could not cooperate whenever it leads to positive results and when it makes sense.

All of our states must, for instance, adjust their legal codes to the legal system of the European Union, and that is a tremendous task. We all lack lawyers to engage in this task because lawyers, as is well known, are leaving for the private sector, where their salaries are triple what they get in the state sector. The establishment of the legal system is precisely one of the spheres in which we can cooperate well and exchange experiences.

[Palata] Would it be worthwhile for Austria and possibly also Germany to be involved in Central European cooperation?

[Havel] I believe we should do everything in our power to cause the line that divides Western countries that are already members of the European integration structures and us, the aspirants, to disappear.

That was also one of the objectives of the Litomysl meeting [of Central European presidents] that is to have its sequel in Hungary in May. Here, presidents of states that are members of democratic structures meet with presidents of countries that are not yet members of these structures, as equal with equals. We want to emphasize that we see ourselves as a legitimate component of democratic Europe and thus actually help to dissolve the remains of a border, dividing line, or curtain between us.

[Palata] You said during the talks that integration into NATO should precede our membership in the European Union. Do you believe the Central European states can become members of the North Atlantic Alliance, despite the opposition this possibility evokes in Russia and that even by the democratic forces there?

[Havel] I have two principal reasons for my statement that we should integrate into NATO before we can join the EU. The first is that preparation for membership in the alliance, although demanding, is after all simpler than preparing for integration into the European Union. Second, I believe that, from the point of view of the overall stability in Europe, the time is getting ripe for the formation of a new security order. The essence of the issue is that the problem should not be constantly postponed and remain open, so it does not become a kind of permanent provisional arrangement. Such a situation represents an opportunity for various undemocratic forces to attempt to implement their own order.

Regarding Russia, we agreed with President Goncz that it is necessary to let Moscow clearly know that we do not intend to drive it out of Europe or isolate it but, rather, that we want to cooperate and that we are also in search of institutional forms of cooperation. One of them is the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), in which both the Commonwealth of Independent States countries and the West are represented. The more intensive the dialogue within the framework of institutions such as the CSCE, the more opportunities there will be to convince the Russians that, if we want to get where we want to be, it is nothing against them, and they do not have to fear it. After all, our endeavors to integrate into Western structures do not mean that we want to isolate ourselves from the Russians or to protect ourselves against them.

Klaus Says Entry Into EU Realistic in 1999

LD0911201094 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] At its session today, the Czech Government confirmed the year 1996 as the official date for the submission of an application to the European Union [EU].

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Ales Hermanek reports:

[Hermanek] Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus considers as one of the first steps on the path to the integration of the Czech Republic into the EU the approval of the association agreement by the parliaments of the member states as early as this year. The association agreement, according to the prime minister, involves some changes in the organizational structure of institutions and in legal regulations. Vaclav Klaus said the following:

[Begin Klaus recording] A Czech Government committee for European integration will be set up on 1 January 1995. It will be headed by the prime minister, and the minister of foreign affairs will be the deputy head. The task of this committee will be to direct the process of implementing the European agreement, the preparation of directives for the Czech delegation in the association council and so on. We envisage that negotiations should start after an intergovernmental conference of the EU—that is, after 1996. We envisage that our entry into the EU would be, realistically, in about 1999. [end recording]

South African Minister Discusses Trip to CR

AU1011121494 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 3 Nov 94 p 7

[Interview with South African Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo by Daniel Kumermann in Prague; date not given: "The Main Thing Is the Culture of Democracy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The first member of the new South African Government to visit the Czech Republic [CR] was Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo. Although he entered high politics only after he reached age 69, he is not a newcomer on the international scene. He represented the African National Congress (ANC) in Egypt and India as early as the 1960's. From 1969 to the legalization of the ANC in 1991, he was its secretary general in exile. He is considered a liberal on the South African political scene.*

[Kumermann] You arrived in Prague from the Middle East. How successful was your visit there?

[Nzo] Very. We met with the highest representatives, and, in addition to discussions on the political situation, we had the opportunity to speak about our government program for recovery and development. We solicited the assistance of the Middle Eastern countries for this program.

[Kumermann] Would you agree that a visit to Iran is a rather risky endeavor for a country just seeking its status in the world?

[Nzo] No, South Africa is a sovereign state. A visit to Iran or any other part of the world does not mean that we will follow its politics. We have our own objectives, and the meeting should help us to attain them.

[Kumermann] It is rather conspicuous that you have not stopped in Israel, your former main ally. Does this represent a new policy?

[Nzo] I met with Minister Peres at the UN General Assembly in New York, and he invited me to visit Israel. I accepted, so it is only a matter of coordinating our programs.

[Kumermann] You will go from Prague to a meeting of African Francophone countries in Biarritz. Would you agree that South Africa is engaging itself perhaps too much on the international scene?

[Nzo] Certainly not. We were invited to attend this conference by President Mitterrand during his visit to South Africa. No meeting with leaders of African countries is in vain. We are not biting off more than we can chew.

[Kumermann] After President Mandela's UN address, deliberations emerged to the effect that South Africa will become a spokesman for the poor South. Do you care for such a role?

[Nzo] No. The countries in that region have their own leaders. We have no ambitions to become their spokesman or to be associated with them, for that matter. We have our own problems. Of course, we cooperate with them within the framework of the region and, subsequently, jointly present the problems of the region.

[Kumermann] Have you met in the Czech Republic with any suspicion that the Government of South Africa is under the influence of communists?

[Nzo] Not at all. I have not encountered such a classification anywhere in the Czech Republic. The Czech politicians know that we have a government of national unity, and I surmise that they admire the progress we have made.

[Kumermann] Have you obtained the promise during the talks that the Czech Republic will appoint an ambassador to South Africa?

[Nzo] This issue was mentioned. We hope it will be settled soon.

[Kumermann] Both our countries are undergoing a transformation. Have you learned anything from our experience?

[Nzo] The two transformations are similar in that their essence is a transfer to democracy. Otherwise, the situation in the two countries mostly differs.

[Kumermann] The establishment of the "Commission of Truth" to study the past of the apartheid system is currently under discussion in South Africa. We have experience with such a discussion. Have you inquired about it?

[Nzo] No, there has not been a mention of it.

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[Kumermann] Do you believe such a commission useful for South Africa?

[Nzo] It is being discussed throughout the country and in the African National Congress. Some claim that it could help to stabilize the situation and reinforce the reconciliation process. Others disagree.

[Kumermann] There used to be a strong radical segment in the ANC that disagreed with the reconciliation policy. How strong is it now?

[Nzo] Freedom of speech is a part of democracy, so even radicals can speak freely. It does not mean, however, that their voice could become the policy of the country. As long as they do not violate the law, they can say whatever they want.

[Kumermann] What is the main problem of the South African Government?

[Nzo] The main problem of the day is to give a specific meaning to the notion of democracy for the majority of the population. This means that everyone can hear, everyone can participate. We must guarantee that such concepts as human rights will not remain an empty political slogan but, rather, turn into reality. We must build a culture of human rights and democracy.

Zieleniec on Mutual Relations

AU1011084494 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 31 Oct 94 p 7

[Interview with Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec by Daniel Kumermann in Prague; date not given: "Our Special Status Brings Us Together"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kumermann] There are signals from South Africa that the authorities there are not content with the level of our mutual relations and the fact that we have not yet appointed an ambassador....

[Zieleniec] That is a bold claim. I had a talk with Minister Nzo in New York and know his attitude towards our republic to be very open and sincere. Even his choice of it as the destination for one of his first trips indicates something. The ambassador issue has to do with the overall development of our foreign service and its personnel changes. Before I ask the president to appoint someone, I want to be certain that he or she is a person I can recommend to the best of my knowledge and conscience.

Relations with South Africa are good. We see it as the key country in the region. I believe that South Africa also discerns our special status among reforming postcommunist countries. That is a basis for mutual affinity.

[Kumermann] It has been maintained in some Czech political circles that the South African "communist" leadership is not a partner for us....

[Zieleniec] I have not heard it, and current developments do not confirm such theses. The radical changes that took place in South Africa elicit insecurity, but President Mandela's activities demonstrate that he is a man seeking approval, that he is aware of the ramifications of the reconciliation process for all of South African society. There is no reason to impose the formula to which you referred on this development. The development of South Africa towards a consensual multiracial society is important for the entire world because, for a long time, the situation there was perceived as a societal problem.

[Kumermann] Are our business circles aware of the specifics and significance of the South African market?

[Zieleniec] This market has, above all, great prospects. We have a not negligible minority there in good social standing that can become a good basis for launching cooperation. Because of the absence of a longstanding tradition of relations, it will require work on the part of our economic sphere. According to my sources, many Czech enterprises are very active in South Africa.

Meciar's Victory Suits Prime Minister

95CH0017B Prague PRAGUE POST in English 18 Oct 94 p 3

[Article by Victor Gomez: "Klaus' Silence Has Been Meciar's Partner"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] When Vaclav Klaus first heard that his old political opposite had risen to the top again in Slovakia, he must have shrugged.

Out of the dozens of comments by Czech politicians on the election victory of Vladimir Meciar, none were more careful than those of the man who worked with the top Slovak politician on the breakup of the Czechoslovak federation.

"We need a strong, distinct, clear partner for various negotiations on current things and things held over from the past," came the judiciously laconic statement from the Czech prime minister.

Not once before or after the Slovak elections did Klaus deign to predict the outcome or state a preference—or express surprise once it became obvious that Meciar had won more than three times the number of votes of any other Slovak party.

"I think that the ideas of other people that the outcome might be different were more like wishful thinking than reality," he said.

Meanwhile, other analysts and politicians, such as Minister of Labor and Social Affairs Jindrich Vodicka, were making openly judgmental statements about Meciar and the entire Slovak people. The election results prompted Vodicka to say that he "realized how good it is that Slovakia is a foreign country."

This has never been Klaus' style in dealing with Meciar—whatever his personal opinion of the man, the

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former Czech economist has always been careful when dealing with the former boxer.

"I don't think that he's extremely happy (with the results)," commented Jiri Schneider, former spokesman for Klaus' Civic Democratic Party (ODS). "But as a politician you have to respect your partners."

Schneider—who now works in the Foreign Minister's policy planning division—said he doesn't expect a dramatic change in the Czech Republic's foreign policy toward Slovakia.

The main issue to deal with will be the Czech Republic's trade imbalance with its neighbor, which most observers agree has resulted from the Slovak government's devaluation of its currency and its protective import measures. Before the elections, some Czech politicians were talking about the possibility of eliminating the clearing-account trading system between the two countries, which now enables them to conduct commerce without using hard currency.

Any future negotiations on these problems will be strongly influenced by the personalities of Klaus and Meciar—providing the Slovak election-winner can translate his victory at the polls into a coalition government of some kind.

While there has been much written about how similar the two men are in style, people such as Fedor Gal, former leader of the Public Against Violence movement that led the 1989 revolution in Slovakia, said the comparison only goes so far.

"Meciar, like Klaus, is a charismatic leader, and they depend on themselves rather than on teamwork," said Gal, but noted that this is where the comparison ends. In Gal's opinion, Meciar is an improviser, while Klaus methodically plans out his political moves ahead of time.

As in 1992, prior to the elections that decided the fate of Czechoslovakia, Klaus has laid the groundwork in advance for a relatively stable relationship with Meciar should he emerge as the next Slovak prime minister.

Schneider, who worked for Klaus throughout the hours of negotiations between the two politicians on the split of Czechoslovakia, remembers the Czech leader's careful approach at that time.

"Klaus was the first Czech politician who took Meciar seriously—psychologically, this is a very important point. Before the elections in 1992, other (Czech) politicians tried to play down Meciar, saying, 'Look at this guy, he's a nationalist'. They had no respect for him."

Jan Zahradil, the ODS foreign-policy adviser, said the Czech leadership's top priority is a stable government that will last to the end of its four-year mandate.

"The more support the new government will have, the better for Slovakia and for us, because then we will have a strong partner for negotiations," said Zahradil.

But if Klaus showed ample respect for Meciar before the elections, he showed only reluctance to meet outgoing Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik—who led a rag-tag coalition government in the country for almost seven months.

"We expected this (Moravcik) government to have a mandate in the half-year leading up to the elections, so it's difficult to negotiate certain things with such a government," added Zahradil.

Beyond these practical considerations, some observers have put forward the idea that Meciar's victory actually benefits Klaus in other ways.

Ivan Hoffman, an analyst for the daily LIDOVE NOVINY who traveled throughout Slovakia during the elections, wrote that the results actually confirm the necessity of splitting up Czechoslovakia. By electing a left-leaning leader who espouses nationalist rhetoric—as well as lending significant support to the legal inheritors of the Communist Party—the ideas of Czech pragmatists have been confirmed, Hoffman said.

"In Slovakia, neither the right-wing nor (Peter) Weiss' reform communists managed to win...but rather an explosive mixture of personality cult, nationalism and social populism," wrote Hoffman in the October 8 issue of the paper.

Therefore, goes the theory, the Western-oriented Czech pragmatists were right to support separation from Slovakia. If the Slovaks had voted in a right-wing government, Klaus and others would have had a difficult time maintaining the idea that the Slovaks are so different that breaking apart from them was the only option in 1992.

Writer Claims U.S. Blocking Planes Sales

95CH0025A Prague PRAGUE POST in English 25 Oct 94 p 5

[Article by Brendan McNally: "U.S. Blocks Belgium's Jet Deal With Czech Military"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The United States is said to have quietly blocked a Belgian offer to sell the Czech Republic used F-16 jet fighters out of fear that the Czech military would advance too far ahead of its former Warsaw Pact partners.

Washington reportedly exerted pressure on governments and producers after receiving reports of negotiations over the advanced jets between Brussels and Prague.

With the Czechs pursuing a course toward NATO membership largely independent of their neighbors, the U.S. Defense Department faces the dilemma of encouraging Czech progress while not bruising the sensitivities of other ex-communist countries.

A day before being ousted from office last month, Defense Minister Antonin Baudys told the daily

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MLADA FRONTA DNES that the Czech air force was considering buying used F-16 jet fighters from the West instead of sticking to plans to modernize its aging fleet of Russian-made MiG-21s.

Having been alerted to reports of a potential sale by the defense trade press, Washington immediately stepped in. Pentagon and State Department officials said such a sale would require U.S. approval since American technology was involved.

In what was viewed by defense reporters as an attempt to quash the story, American officials said that since they had not received any requests from Belgium to sell used F-16s, reports of such a sale could not be believed. At the same time, according to sources, the United States began unofficially offering its own used F-16s at the rock-bottom price of $4 million per aircraft.

Czech defense officials say there is "absolutely no chance" of acquiring any more MiGs or other Russian equipment. Hungary and Slovakia have recently taken delivery of MiG-29s and other top-of-the-line Russian systems in "jets for debts" swaps.

"We made the policy decision that continuing to depend on the Russians for supply and support was completely unacceptable," said Defense Ministry spokesman Zdenek Borkovec. "Buying new equipment would mean a 20-year dependency on the Russians."

When NATO launched the Partnership for Peace initiative in early 1994, the Visegrad Four—the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Poland—agreed to seek joint admission into the Atlantic alliance. The Czechs quickly cooled, however, and have instead taken an independent path.

According to U.S. defense sources, the Pentagon does not want to rile the Russians by being overly enthusiastic about the Czech decision to sever most supply links with Russia. Nor does it want to suggest to Poland, Hungary or Slovakia that they are less than equal partners because of their continued links to Moscow.

But there is an entirely different side to the reported Belgian-Czech dealings. Washington's reaction could have more to do with a nasty industrial battle than with maintaining a regional balance of power.

With the reduction of military forces after 1989, manufacturers are cutting costs and overhead and consolidating production in order to stay in business. But even low prices are not enough to spur new orders; the market for weapons systems is saturated.

In order to create an appetite for new fighters, those in the industry and in the defense departments of various Western countries encourage the sale of old aircraft. According to one military source, F-16s have also been offered to Austria and Slovakia, and possibly Poland and Hungary.

The U.S. Congress is considering the Brown-Simpson Amendment, which would allow the Pentagon to give military hardware to Partnership for Peace countries.

On October 11, the U.S. military's second highest-ranking officer, Vice Adm. William Owens, the vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, paid a visit to top Czech defense officials.

While brimming with praise for the Czech army's transformation and its Partnership for Peace efforts, Owens steered clear of questions about possible F-16 sales.

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Meciar Discusses Election, Political Situation

AU1011122294 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 31 Oct, 2 Nov 94

[Interview in two installments with HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar by Jan Smolec and Eva Zelenayova; place and date not given: "Power Will Not Be Mustered on the Streets"]

[31 Oct, p 4]

[FBIS Translated Text] [SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA] All the leaders of the political parties except you appeared in public immediately after the parliamentary elections. Why? Some journalists and also politicians are criticizing you for this.

[Meciar] The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] had to analyze the election results. Such an analysis, and assessing what the people were telling us through the elections, is quite a complicated process. It makes no sense to appear in public without a clear understanding of these things. Furthermore, many people describe the HZDS as a one-man movement. But all of a sudden a group of politicians, of equal partners, appears on our scene and holds talks and makes decisions equally with other politicians. Those who missed me were mostly Meciar-bashers. If I kept quiet, they lost their mode of expression. My silence was also intended to help make sure that all those politicians who are now in the government and who say how united they are demonstrate their teamwork and ability to communicate and create unity without an enemy because they united themselves more or less in opposition to me. Because I said almost nothing to them for a month, the serious disputes within the parties and the coalition came out. The rigid anti-Meciarism, which had acted as unifying cement, started to fall apart at a stroke. My period of silence was not a period of inactivity. It was a period of searching for concepts and a new orientation after the elections. I made use of it the way I always do.

[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA] However, our readers and your voters missed the voice of the election winner. Do you not think that, after all, it was necessary to say something to them?

[Meciar] Of course, we respect their decision. We respect them because they supported us and because they continued to place their trust in us. We are grateful to them for considering us to be the ones who should take the helm of state again. The stance adopted by citizens toward March 1994 [when Meciar was ousted from government] has also been made clear by the election results. They rejected not only March but also its protagonists. At the same time, we know that our citizens have given us their endorsement for the future. We have fallen twice in government. Citizens would find it difficult to forgive us a third time. Therefore, we have to consider each step two or three times.

[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA] We do not want to believe that you did not have the urge to say anything about the unfolding situation. If you did, what was the subject?

[Meciar] Several things are lacking in Slovakia—first and foremost, a feeling of personal responsibility for the consequences. Therefore, I very much admire the chairman of the Romany party who declared after the elections that he is responsible for the outcome and submitted his resignation. The non-Romanies do not have such a feeling of personal responsibility. Something else that is lacking in Slovakia is the need for a new government, for new unity. The leaders of some parties prefer to seek the blame for their failure in the other person. They are continuing to create and look for the image of an enemy. This must stop. This is unseemly. A third thing that is lacking is the willingness to examine the past and seek in it stimuli and assurances for the future. So, it is now necessary to state that this is a new era, the parties are legitimate, and the ratio of forces is the way the citizens decided in the elections. It is necessary to get down to work together. Of course, it was to be expected that individual entities and stances would change after the elections. However, it was not necessary to intervene in this. On the contrary, it was necessary to be above this development because they could then portray, as, for example, the Christian democrats did, their withdrawal into the opposition as being connected with me, but they cannot do this. Then, the Hungarian parties could portray their unwillingness to negotiate as being associated with me; they cannot do this. So this development, in fact, went beyond me and zeroed in on the disputes between people from other parties. That was the reason I kept quiet.

[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA] Do you not consider the 27 days from the end of the elections until the president decided to entrust you with forming the new government to have been lost?

[Meciar] Yes, because, in essence, this involves not only me, although it was logical. This is a formal attribute of the democratic system. However, the issue here concerns the fact that no one was talking about a government. The parties were talking about cooperation, mutual relations, and programs. They were talking about parliament, but they simply did not get around to talking about a government, because not every party has clearly defined internal relations. Not every party can guarantee that, if it signs an agreement, its deputies will also respect it. For this reason, I consider the 27 days when talks were being held with the president to have been lost. Tension in society increased unnecessarily, and the negotiations were postponed for at least a month. It is simply impossible then to demand from me that I speed them up and that they be concluded in a week or two. We could have been a month further ahead.

[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA] Are you disappointed with the election results?

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[Meciar] No. After all, the HZDS has, in essence, confirmed its position in society. We are the only party that has the clear support of the population. If we look at the parties with 10-percent support, they almost represent special-interest groups. A party that does not know how to influence more than 30 percent of the people is not in fact a political party. As far as the crystallization of the Slovak political scene is concerned, the election results have made several things clear—first, that there are more parties in parliament than formerly. Some parties are represented by one deputy, some by two, and some by three. It goes without saying that each party chairman wants a share in the decisionmaking. That is, the 5-percent clause, whose objective was to limit the number of entities, has been circumvented there. Decisionmaking in parliament will thus become more difficult; 120-130 channels of communication will be necessary for each item of information, which will weaken parliament's stability. The election result sounds like an instruction from the citizens to seek an agreement. At the same time, however, a difficult path toward concluding such an agreement is encoded within the structures that got into parliament. Therefore, further measures to stabilize parliament, to make sure that it lasts for four years, are essential—measures essential to ensure that the will of the citizens is guaranteed. It is remarkable that those who lost are the ones calling for new elections. I believe that it is necessary to begin working anew and not to rush the people to the polling booths again.

[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA] Do you think you will be able to stabilize the domestic political situation in this antagonistic atmosphere?

[Meciar] The basis we can count on is 70 votes. We need six votes to achieve a majority in parliament. This means six gallant people who, regardless of their party allegiance and personal ambition, would be willing to take on the gamble of resolving the crisis situations in 1995. I hope we find them.

[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA] The Democratic Union [DU] is the most problematic entity for the HZDS. Could you acquaint us with its genesis, from the collapse of the VPN [Public Against Violence] to the present, because the Knazkoites, in particular, maintain that the HZDS evolved like DU.

[Meciar] The HZDS was established following the split of the VPN movement into two groups. DU was established under strange circumstances as a product of deputies in the HZDS Club, deputies who left this club unscrupulously. That is the fundamental difference. While in the case of the HZDS a new legal entity was formed by the division of the original one, there was no analogous course of action here. The affair has a political framework in the sense that this development caused a crisis in parliament and, furthermore, that diehard anti-communists entered into a coalition with the SDL [Party of the Democratic Left], that diehard anti-KDHites went into a coalition with the KDH [Christian Democratic Movement], and that diehard nationalists went into a coalition and asked, begged, for support from the Hungarian political parties. Of course, further significance is also attached to this issue. Is it possible to destabilize parliament again by means of such disarray in parliament? The preliminary talks have indicated that several parties are considering this again. This is a lesson for us that it is necessary to prevent this somehow.

[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA] Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik has said that, in their complaints to the Constitutional Court, the HZDS and DU deliberately made procedural errors in order to make the court's decision easier. The decision made by the Constitutional Court would suggest this. Was this really also the HZDS's concern?

[Meciar] No. In essence, elections are a sovereignly free and democratic act. Each individual has to make his decision on the basis of his knowledge of the facts. He has to have a thorough supply of information and the possibility of making his decision freely. Can a citizen decide freely in the elections if he does not know whether one of the parties campaigning in them is legitimate? Our doubts began to surface in the preelection period. The situation was resolved not by scrutiny of the petition sheets but by a vote taken by the coalition majority in the Regional Electoral Commission and also in the Slovak Electoral Commission. To date, there is a justifiable suspicion, which no one has yet investigated, that DU does not have 10,000 valid signatures. It would be fitting if the chairman of the party were to make these lists public and the citizens could acknowledge their signatures. After all, this is in the interest of DU. That is, if the HZDS is upholding anything, it is only making sure that the citizens are not being deceived. I do not consider deceiving the people to be a manifestation of democracy. DU's complaint was, in essence, an attempt at retaliation. If I examine it from its procedural-legal aspect, this involves procedurally attacking the HZDS because I was not allowed to vote. But this is absurd. After all, DU had the prime minister, the interior minister was from the KDH, and they were responsible for ensuring that the electoral registers were in order. And all of a sudden they are criticizing us for the scandalous scene in which I was not allowed to cast my ballot.

The world news agencies accepted this as news coverage, not as part of the election campaign. If Slovak Television broadcast a report, it was not tantamount to a campaign in our favor. Why do they not consider the political and legal responsibility of those who did this? For example, the Interior Ministry state secretary is Mr. Roman Vavrik, the same Roman Vavrik who, according to testimony from the Police Corps in Hummene, submitted false signatures to the Regional Electoral Commission and, to this day, sits there and is a DU member and deputy. So, if public life is to be cleaned up, it should be done everywhere and involve everything. If order is not introduced from above, the people below will not help. Therefore, several other steps will follow, which

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will cause a major outcry, but they have to be taken in the interest of ensuring that Slovakia becomes a stabilized and democratic state.

[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA] Do you think that now is the right time for this?

[Meciar] When then? If parliament assembles and its activity gets off to a bad start, it will be difficult to correct it later. If parliament goes into the proper orbit now, it may take a little longer to reach it, but it will not then depart from it. It is far easier to get down to work with a fixed orientation than it is to adjust, correct, and change it later.

[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA] Jan Carnogursky has removed the KDH from the negotiations. Our readers received this news with relief. They would consider governing with those who adamantly rejected sovereignty, the Constitution, and independence to be treason.

[Meciar] Jan Carnogursky has again been endorsed by the elections. The KDH is a legitimate political entity that will take part in parliament's work. Its votes carry their own significance in parliament. It is another thing altogether that it is one of the miniparties. However, it is true that as long as Carnogursky is KDH chairman it will not get any bigger. On the other hand, I think the KDH's withdrawal into the opposition is not because the HZDS would not be accommodating but because [HZDS Deputy Chairman] Augustin Marian Huska has scared Mr. Carnogursky a little. He told him that there could possibly also be a merger between the KDH and the HZDS, which would lead to the creation of a single, large political entity based on Christian principles. This, obviously, scared Mr. Carnogursky. DU was merely a pretext. While the SDL is making participation in the government conditional on the KDH, the KDH has elegantly tossed the SDL aside because it no longer needs it. I think Mr. Carnogursky wants to dub himself the leader of and spokesman for the opposition. This is not a denigrating role; it is a role customary in a democracy. We wish him well there, but we will do everything we can to ensure that he does not again muster power on the streets—with help from anyone.

[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA] Cooperation with the SDL, especially with the nationally oriented left-wing politicians, looks promising. Can you visualize a coalition government involving the HZDS, the RSS [Farmers' Party of Slovakia], the SNS [Slovak National Party], and the SDL? Would there not be tension in it between the SNS and the SDL?

[Meciar] I can visualize a government that has its own pragmatic program. It would respect party programs, but, at the same time, it would not duplicate any of them precisely. These are pragmatic issues for the life of Slovakia. The government in 1995 will be a government that faces the risk of encountering social unrest. It will constantly lack resources to satisfying the state's basic needs. It is necessary to state openly that if, for example, in DU's election campaign it was said that teachers would be given 2,000 korunas for clothes and female teachers would be given 90 percent of their salaries while on maternity leave, the problem would be to guarantee teachers their basic salaries. There will be problems in providing enough medicines and for functioning health, education, and security services and for the Army and state administration. Things that are begun so that they make themselves felt a year later have not, in essence, been begun. The loss from the removal of my government and the interruption of continuity will make itself felt fully in the deficiencies of 1995. Each of us knows that the people will react to this with obvious discontent. For example, we are now faced with the dilemma of whether, under these agitated conditions, to assume government and take on the responsibility for development when we know that, in the initial stages, it will be impossible to deliver a positive end product to the people. The food market is not stabilized, there have been serious vacillations in the administration of the state material reserves, and other deficit items, which are being concealed from the public, have been inserted in the budgets of the individual departments. Job classification, for example, has not been dealt with, and the payment of state allowances for December 1994 from the state budget has not been resolved. Everything is heading toward total collapse. So, the government that comes into office must get firmly on its feet. For this reason, we are asking for support from several political entities. We are not interested in power for power's sake. If we perceive it as a service, then everyone must serve. It does not make sense to enter into a minority government.

[2 Nov p 3]

[FBIS Translated Text] [SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA] The elections have placed the president in a difficult position. He has been trying to convince the public and the world since March that Meciar is objectionable. Anywhere else, and the president would resign after being taught such an electoral lesson. Moreover, only 9 percent of the people trust him. Quite simply, nothing can be done about him. He is exploiting the shortcomings in the Constitution and is reinforcing his authority. Do you think a parliamentary commission will be established to look into the president's activities?

[Meciar] There is a systemic flaw in the Constitution with regard to executing the office of president in that, in essence, he is not accountable to anyone. The only exceptions are high treason and prejudicing the constitutional system, when parliament may bring him to account. Of course, inasmuch as there were early elections here, parliament and the government collapsed, and the societal crisis that set in later has had grave political, social, and economic consequences for the citizens, the initiator of all of this should have something to say. The outcome that he wanted was rebuffed. The president suffered a moral and political defeat in these elections. If Slovakia is to become stable, it must learn

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from its first year. Parliament has to do this for the citizens. Therefore, in my view, parliament should establish a commission that will look into the causes of the '94 crisis in the most supreme constitutional bodies. It must look for and differentiate between systemic and personal mistakes. And, on the basis of this, it must also propose solutions.

[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA] If the coalition talks should fail, would a caretaker government be discussed?

[Meciar] A caretaker government is nonsense. A caretaker government is a government of individuals on whom the political parties agree, given that, although they did not campaign under their terms, they supported them under their terms. I first heard talk about a caretaker government following the president's election in March 1993, and this affliction is still wreaking havoc. Obviously, there will be a few ambitious people here, people who are not politically active so that the parties accept them, who think that they can get into the government this way. It is high time to bring an end to such experimentation. The Slovak Republic is based on the parliamentary system, and it must proceed from this. The parliamentary system does not require the formation of a caretaker government. Although there was a caretaker government sometime during the First Republic, it was only formed following the agreement of all of the chairmen of the political parties. In no way would we enter into such nonsense with anyone.

[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA] Deputy Prime Minister B. Schmognerova hopes that the next government will pursue the same policy as the current one. Could you compare the activity of your government and that of the current government, and how would the HZDS proceed if it were to form the government?

[Meciar] First of all, the Moravcik government declared that it would set out on the same road. It set out, but in the opposite direction. In place of a development policy, it switched to a restrictive policy, which was a mistake. Instead of laying in the resources for 1995, it limited itself to very dubious results for 1994,, such as the value-added tax and so on, regardless of the social and political consequences. Unfortunately, they have not helped the state, just hindered it. Furthermore, the effect of this economic policy has been that the money flow has ceased to be monitored, money has become more expensive, and indebtedness has not been reduced, which affects prices. This was a policy that unsettled price stability and affected food supplies. The meat situation is particularly bad because some of the stocks belonging to the state material reserves are empty. The current government is responsible for this. Activities are being started now that will make themselves felt badly next year. For example, the inadequate sowing of sugar beet. This will have an effect on sugar production, its supply, and cost—and the new government will be criticized for this. The preparation of the land for autumnal work, laying the foundations for the next harvest, and so on has been made more difficult—that is, there are too many activities that will place the government in a bad light in 1995. The future government should literally devote itself to making sure that it steers life in a different direction. Slovakia's fundamental strategic line can no longer follow the path of restriction; it must follow the path of development—development involving investments, exports, and job opportunities. It is impossible to copy Moravcik's example because the citizens have rejected it. Everything has to proceed quite differently.

[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA] Your opponents, led by the president, say that you are a politician who cannot make compromises. What limits are there to your compromises?

[Meciar] We have had a minority government since 1992. It would certainly not have held together if we had not made compromises. It was necessary to come to a major historical compromise with the Czech Republic. We managed it. It was necessary to make many compromises for the sake of recognition throughout the world. We managed to make them. You have to put the question differently, however. It is not that I do not know how to make compromises. The problem is that the others have to learn to live with me because I have again been endorsed by the elections. So, let them give up their nonsensical struggle and let them think about how to live with me and not go against me.

[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA] Ill-wishers identify the HZDS with you and claim that the movement could not exist without you. What do you think about that? Does the movement have enough personalities?

[Meciar] I think that, as far as intellectual power is concerned, the HZDS has more than all of the political parties. In our movement, because we have more than a million voters, the proportion of individual social groups is different. Our strength is greater and is based on the truth, not on a personality. If a person is alone and is right, he is always in the majority.

[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA] What do you consider to be the most important things for this state at the moment?

[Meciar] To stabilize the political structure so that there is no political unrest. This will make it possible to concentrate all our strength on the economy, to make changes in the economy with regard to development policy and to stabilize the social system. Until now, we have staggered it among the people so that it is commensurately tolerable. It will go through a crisis in 1995. Everything will be different after 1996, but 1995 will be very difficult, especially because many parties are thinking about early elections, which would not be a good solution.

Greatest Support for Meciar in Central Slovakia

95CH0024B Prague PRAGUE POST in English 25 Oct 94 p 4

[Article by Bill Reynolds: "Meciar's Message Echoes Across Slovakia's Heartland"]

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[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zilina—A bespectacled teenage boy in a black tuxedo took the dance floor at the Tropicana club in this central Slovak mountain town and began performing magic tricks.

After each trick, short bursts of scattered, lukewarm applause came from the audience of 15 people.

As the young magician took his bows, one group of spectators resumed their conversation about the political deadlock that has resulted from the recent parliamentary elections. Each of them, two men and two women, said they had voted for former Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar.

Two lines of argument emerged: "Who else?" said one man. "Only he can keep the Hungarians across the Danube," said the other.

The first said he was a truck driver who earned 6,000 Sk ($180) a month. The second identified himself as a construction foreman who earned 5,500 Sk. The women didn't want to say what they did or how much they made.

It is the economically foundering industrial towns and remote villages of the central region where Meciar's Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) has won its greatest support. While gaining just under 35 percent nationally, the HZDS won 44.4 percent of the vote here.

The ex-premier, who grew up near the central city of Zvolen, stuck to the tactic that twice previously vaulted him to the top of Slovak politics: appealing to common men and women.

With many Slovaks scraping to buy cigarettes and with a national unemployment rate of 14.6 percent, that means appealing to people's wallets.

In Zilina, unemployment stands at 13.1 percent. In other towns in and near the industrial Vah River valley—such as Cadca, where 23 percent of workers are idle—the situation is even worse.

Yet there is more to Meciar's appeal in the region, according to Luba Lesna, a journalist for Radio Free Europe. The mentality of people in the middle of the country is far different from in the capital Bratislava, where the unemployment rate is 4.4 percent, and in the east of the country, where many towns have unemployment rates of well over 20 percent.

Lesna said that while Westerners might be alarmed that more than one-third of Slovak voters accepted the populist message of the HZDS, it was even more significant that another 13 percent supported parties even more out of touch with modern European economic and political thinking.

Those parties are the far-left Association of Workers (ZRS) led by Jan Luptak, a bricklayer from the central city of Banska Bystrica, and the extreme Slovak National Party (SNS), led by Jan Slota, the mayor of Zilina.

The ZRS won 7.7 percent in the center of the country and 7.3 percent nationally, despite being formed three months ago. The SNS, a former and quite possibly future HZDS coalition partner, took 6.7 percent of the vote in the center of the country and 5.4 percent nationally.

Together, the two parties addressed Meciar's cornerstone themes of government protection for working people and nationalism. The mix works particularly well in the center of the country for historical reasons, said Lesna.

"People in the center have always been surrounded by mountains," she said. "A populistic and charismatic person can go there and try to win over people who live life in isolation."

More than geography comes into play. It was in the central mountains that the Slovak language and culture survived 1,000 years of uncompromising Hungarian rule. To this day, nationalism is at its most intense in the middle of the country, despite the fact that few Hungarian speakers live in the region.

Czechs from Prague are not much more highly regarded, said Lesna. Since education in the Slovak language was forbidden by the Hungarians, Czech teachers and administrators were sent to Slovakia by the thousands after the birth of Czechoslovakia in 1918. They were viewed by many as a new elite.

The communists immeasurably improved the quality of life for rural Slovaks, lifting them from grueling farm work and cottages with dirt floors to industrial jobs and apartments in the vast concrete housing blocks where most still live today.

Not everyone in central Slovakia sees things the same way. The attitudes that lead people to vote for populist parties are alien to Robert Vigas, a Banska Bystrica native doing alternative military service by working in a museum. As part of a trend among young people in the region to take low-paying, temporary jobs in the United States, he spent the summer selling ice cream at the seashore in New Jersey.

He said he plans to study engineering, and is not pessimistic about his chances of finding work after university. As for anti-Hungarianism, he said it struck him as ridiculous—given that his mother and grandmother both speak the language and pose no threat to Slovakia.

"I don't believe there is such a thing as a person's born nature; rather it's the circumstances a person finds himself in that determines who he is," said Vigas.

The streets of Zilina bear symbols of a nation searching for its identity. Smart-looking private shops in the downtown contrast with the hulking, outmoded communist-built factories on the outskirts.

Masarykova street, named for the first Czechoslovak president, Tomas Garrigue Masaryk, is now called Narodna (National street). Slovak National Uprising Square,

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named in honor of the armed fight against fascism during World War II, has been renamed Hlinka Square, in honor of Andrej Hlinka, a Catholic priest who fought for Slovak rights, first under the Hungarians and later in Czechoslovakia.

In September, Slota and other town officials planned a festive ceremony to unveil a statue of Hlinka, inscribed "Father of the Nation," on the square. The speakers sat behind the podium, and the band and the choir were in place, but due to heavy rain the program was called off after 10 minutes. A sign of the times, perhaps.

Kukan Seeks Explanation for Klaus's Statement

LD0911205694 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Kukan has in his interview with TASR described as inexplicable the recent statement by Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus in his interview with LIDOVE NOVINY in which he notes, in the name of his Cabinet, that the Czech Government is waiting for a new Slovak Government because it has had virtually no one to talk with since the spring, and there are a number of things that must be discussed.

Kukan said that the two sides had recently agreed that mutual relations were good. Kukan therefore has personally asked the Czech Ambassador, Filip Sedivy, to officially explain Vaclav Klaus's statement.

President Kovac Dismisses Procurator General

LD0911215694 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] President Michal Kovac today, at 1500 hours, received Prosecutor General Vojtech Bacho, in whom parliament expressed a vote of no confidence during the night of 3-4 November. Zuzana Stukovska interviewed presidential spokesman Anton Balaz on the result of the meeting:

[Begin recording] [Stukovska] Mr. Balaz, did the president accept the decision of the parliament?

[Balaz] Yes, the president complied with the proposal of the National Council and dismissed Vojtech Bacho from the post of prosecutor general. He thanked him for his work and praised the results the office of the prosecutor general achieved under his leadership. [passage omitted]

[Stukovska] Will the president accept the parliamentary proposal to appoint Ludovit Hudek to the vacant post of prosecutor general?

[Balaz] As to appointing Ludovit Hudek, the president wrote a letter today to Mr. Gasparovic, the chairman of the National Council, in which he requested of the chairman that the submitted proposal be supplemented by documents that are required by Paragraph 37 of the Law on Prosecution—that is, evidence that the candidate passed the final prosecution examination. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Kovac Stance on Ministers, Prosecutor Criticized

LD0911233694 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Our team has met Deputy Katarina Tothova, who, in cooperation with the press and information department of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], has made the following statement available to Slovak Television:

The proposal by the president of the Slovak Republic, Michal Kovac, that the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic should take a stand on the vote of no confidence in Ministers Ladislav Pittner and Milan Janicina taken by the National Council is considered by the HZDS as an attempt to delay their dismissal.

According to Article 114 of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, the National Council has the right to hold a no-confidence vote in an individual member of the government at any time. It follows from the constitutional term "any time" that the parliament can do so even if the government has offered its resignation following the constituent session of the National Council and is carrying out its duties until the new government is formed. If this were not the case, the National Council would have no means of control, and such a government would be in an exceptionally advantageous position.

Article 117 of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, to which the presidential office refers, says that the government carries out its duties after its resignation until the new government is formed. It follows, then, that the National Council cannot take a vote of no confidence in the whole government, but it can take a vote of no confidence in its individual member.

The decision of the National Council that it will propose to the president of the Slovak Republic to dismiss the two ministers is thus fully in line with the Constitution of the Slovak Republic.

The Constitution of the Slovak Republic does not set any condition for the post of prosecutor general that he or she must be a prosecutor, the way this condition is set for the post of chairman of the Constitutional Court, who must be a judge of the Constitutional Court, and for the post of chairman of the Supreme Court of the Slovak Republic, who must be a judge of the Supreme Court.

Article 37 of the Law on the Office of Prosecution No. 60/1965 does not deal with the post of prosecutor general, in particular, but with the posts of prosecutors in general. Proof of this is the fact that Dr. Tibor Boehm, who used to be the prosecutor general of the Slovak Republic and, at the same time, was prosecutor general of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, was himself

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not a prosecutor in the sense of Article 37 of the Law on the Office of Prosecution to which the presidential office refers.

Tuchyna Appoints New Army Corps Commanders

AU1011121594 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Nov 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "Army Corps"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Chief of the Army General Staff Colonel General Jozef Tuchyna made the following appointments on 31 October, based on a personnel order from Defense Minister Pavol Kanis:

—General Staff Colonel Milan Cerovsky to the post of commander of the 1st Army Corps in Topolcany.

—Colonel Jan Cmilansky to the post of commander of the 2d Army Corps in Presov.

—Colonel Jozef Pivarci to the post of commander of the 3d Air Force and Air Defense Corps in Zvolen.

The appointment of new Army functionaries is associated with the establishment of new military units in the Slovak Army—Army Corps, which commenced operations on 1 November. At the same time, the former commands of the divisions in Topolcany and Presov concluded their activities on 31 October in official ceremonies. The changes in the Army's organizational structure were implemented within the framework of the Slovak Army's planned transformation. Tuchyna also appointed the deputy commanders and chiefs of the individual Army Corps in Slovakia.

Jan Luptak Presents ZRS List of Demands

95CH0024C Prague PRAGUE POST in English 25 Oct 94 p 4

[Commentary by Timea Spitkova: "Enigmatic Workers' Party Issues Its List of Demands"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A former bricklayer with no track record and an open disdain for politics is now Slovakia's most-trusted politician.

Jan Luptak and his ultraleft-wing Association of Slovak Workers (ZRS) have come up with one surprise after another since the September 30-October 1 parliamentary elections.

The party is in a position to tip the political scales, but, so far at least, Luptak is having none of it. Instead, he has presented a list of 13 "conditions" necessary for the association's support and said he will back whichever party adopts the conditions.

Luptak rejects Slovakia's entry into NATO and the European Union and sees the West as a menace that would reduce Slovakia to a colony.

The public apparently loves it.

According to a recent public-opinion poll, ZRS has Slovakia's highest credibility rating, over 47 percent, followed by Vladimir Meciar's Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), which received an approval rating of 38 percent.

Luptak was rated the most trusted politician by more than 49 percent of those polled by the research department of Slovak Radio.

ZRS, founded by Luptak only three months prior to the elections, surprised most observers with its success.

"Prior to the elections, no one gave me the time of day," said Luptak, a former member of the Party of the Democratic Left (SDL).

Since it managed to secure 13 seats in parliament on a shoestring budget, the ZRS has made an effort to stay above political squabbling by refusing to give full support to any coalition and rejecting a role in the future government.

"We are not considering entering the government as we would kill ourselves by this. It was not us who brought the country to collapse, it was the government—so let it take care of this," said ZRS Deputy Chairman Klement Kolnik.

The 13 conditions advanced by the party include opposition to "anti-worker" legislation, better treatment of pensioners, resignation of all deputies who have publicly humiliated workers, and the abolition of all limited-liability companies that arose from state-owned enterprises.

The association does not support rapid economic reform, stating that reforms have only brought hardship for Slovak workers. "What is economic reform when people's standards of living are going down?" asked Luptak.

Luptak's party favors state control of defense-related industries, food production, transportation, housing, media, education and medical facilities. The ZRS supports closer links with the East and criticizes Slovakia's moves toward European Union and NATO membership.

"Russia is a power, and we cannot tear ourselves away from it. If we do this, the West would let us die. The West needs us merely as a colony," said Kolnik, explaining the organization's outlook. "(The ZRS is) basically against the EU, NATO and the International Monetary Fund."

In the short time since the Slovak elections, members of the ZRS—who, with the exception of Luptak have no experience in politics—have made peculiar statements that have turned heads nationally and internationally.

In an interview with the Czech newspaper MLADA FRONTA DNES, ZRS No. 2 man Kolnik referred to

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Mikhail Gorbachev as an agent of Great Britain and predicted that Czech President Vaclav Havel will be forced from power.

Report on Trencin International Arms Exhibition

95CH0024A Prague PROGNOSIS in English 19 Oct 94 p 6

[Article by Jana Dorotkova: "A Day at the Slovak Arms Fair"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Trencin, Western Slovakia—No one at the train station knew where Slovakia's first International Defense Equipment Exhibition was to be held—except for the two skinheads.

"You have to go to the second bus station and then take the 1 or 11 to Kubra," one explained with a smile.

Then the big one's face turned serious. "You're not looking for that protest thing, are you?" he asked, his voice low and ominous.

"Nooo, we want to see the weapons," we assured him. The answer soothed him, he turned friendly again, and went on about how the poor anarchists had organized their little peace march in the morning. "But we broke the crowd up," he grinned, adding that 20 skinheads were enough to take care of about 100 protesters.

The exhibition was two bus stops away. The outskirts of Trencin are a fortress of *panelaky* surrounding factory-like buildings. According to the locals, these exhibition grounds were traditionally used for fashion fairs, for which Trencin was famous throughout Slovakia. Trencin used to be promoted as "A Town of Fashion."

Anarchists who gathered to protest the arms fair twisted the famous saying, posting signs around the country that read "Trencin-A Town of Death." The nationalist Slovak daily SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA called the anarchists losers and failed federalists, and reported that those people were the same "traitors with fake moral values, who supported (then Czechoslovak President Vaclav) Havel's decision to liquidate arms production in Slovakia."

When Havel became president after the 1989 revolution, the country's politicians announced the end of arms production for "moral reasons." The decision hurt Slovakia much worse than the Czech lands, and an estimated 200,000 Slovaks lost jobs. The Czechs have since brought back their stalled arms industry; Slovakia has been trying, but without much success.

Ever since the shutdown, one highly popular topic in Trencin is just how miserable living has been "because of Havel's conversion," which is rumored to have caused numerous layoffs.

However, a spokesman from one of the nearby former arms manufacturers, ZTS Dubnica, said most of the layoffs were a result of overemployment. Working pensioners and unnecessary administrators had to go. Only 200 people lost jobs after the conversion, and most of them were clever enough either to start their own businesses or find jobs elsewhere.

The cracked, red lettering on the fairground entrance read, "It is forbidden to enter the grounds with any kind of gun or other lethal weapon." The area was filled mostly by excited fathers, jumping children, guns, fake mines, smart and dumb missiles, combat units, and all sorts of metal shaped and formed for no purpose but defense against the enemy.

The man serving hot dogs at the *bufet* was very polite and talkative. He was proud of his kitchen equipment from Switzerland, and said that when the exhibition was closed to the public during the previous three days, his wares were the most popular. "All of them liked this *bufet*...the Syrians, the Libyans, I don't know who else. Everybody ate here," he said.

The outdoor area was a parking lot filled with military equipment. They might all look like tanks to the novice, but polite young soldiers provided excellent detailed lectures explaining that, actually, the huge green truck with a set of little tubes sticking out of its roof was able to clear an area of 400-by-400 meters in about five seconds. "It's mostly used against ground forces," said a handsome officer with shiny blue eyes.

Stationary combat reconnaissance vehicles, tanks, howitzers, mine clearers and trucks, however, could hardly compete with the live show held on a battlefield behind the lot.

About a thousand visitors turned out for the battle simulation, featuring deafening noise from three tank-like monsters, explosions and machine guns, and a MiG cruising the Trencin sky. "The reconnaissance group is approaching its objective," came the play-by-play over the intercom. "The unit will now demonstrate the liquidation of the guards." Machine guns live are pretty loud, I must say.

A young boy and a little girl climbed a mound of dirt to get a better view. "It's all right," 10-year-old Boris Olanocin said seriously, watching soldiers on the battlefield demonstrate martial arts, "because I can learn something, and the weapons here are well-equipped." After a short silence he added: "But people shouldn't produce weapons."

The local weekly reported that 105 exhibitors participated: from Belgium, the Czech Republic, France, Britain,

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Ukraine, Israel, Russia and the United States. "Event organizers want to continue the long-standing tradition of special arms production in the Slovak factories and look to revitalize the industry," read the front-page article.

Everybody seemed to be in a good mood that afternoon—even a group of 15 skinheads.

"Nothing serious happened, (there was) only one ambulance," they recalled of Saturday morning's confrontation with the anarchists. "Somebody messed up and broke one guy's head. And there were some teeth fallen out...on the sidewalk. OK? We have to go now," they said cheerfully, and walked away.

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Keleti Addresses U.S. Military Working Group

LD0911144294 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Budapest meeting of the Hungary-U.S. military working group, which began this morning, may become a step on the road to our joining NATO. This has been stated by Hungarian Minister of Defense Gyorgy Keleti. Gabor Bankuti reports.

[Begin Keleti recording] It is the Hungarian Government's resolute intention to integrate into NATO and therefore it is inevitable that this bilateral relationship also involves, in some areas, our moving closer to NATO and forms military contact systems, which may come into being simultaneously with the transformation of the Hungarian Army and our admission into NATO. [end recording]

[Bankuti] These were the words with which the Hungarian minister of defense opened the Budapest session of the Hungary-U.S. military working group. The group was formed in 1992 and Keleti is attending the meeting of the group for the first time. He praised the assistance that the United States has extended to Hungary for the change of regime and recalled that this group was the first such bilateral committee in the region. Then he continued thus.

[Begin Keleti recording] The Hungarian Republic and its Army, notwithstanding their relatively meager and difficult material means, have tried to sacrifice rather a lot to implement the transformation of regime. Hungary is the only one in the region that has ordered a friend or foe detection system which, by building it into the planes of the Hungarian Air Force, has now enabled us to fulfill even those requirements that exist within NATO.

During the first half of next month we would like to (?install this system). Especially in respect of the Air Force, we also intend to take further modernization steps, developing the so-called radio-technological system [radio tehnikai rendszer]. Once it is implemented, (?we will achieve) another significant step in the development of bilateral ties.

The aim of the session of the committee that is starting now is to prepare the Hungary-U.S. cooperation memorandum, which could be signed in the first quarter of 1995, provided that U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry accepts my invitation. It is our hope that we might be able to work out long-term cooperation agreements. [end recording]

[Bankuti] Keleti also said that the Hungarian-U.S. secrets and information protection agreement was being prepared. Once the agreement is signed, it will be possible for the Hungarian Army to acquire U.S. weapons.

Ex-State Secretary Charges 'Political Cleansing'

95CH0038C Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Oct 94 p 10

[Report on statements of Jozsef Kajdi, state secretary in the Prime Minister's Office under former Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, by J. Tibor Keri; place and date not given: "The Former State Secretary Is Unemployed; Jozsef Kajdi: The New Power Is Performing Political Cleansing"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *It should be clear that the political storm created over the so-called 3,000-series decrees is only meant to discredit the previous government, Jozsef Kajdi, Office of the Prime Minister administrative state secretary in the Antall cabinet, told this newspaper. He denied charges according to which the previous government had squandered 16 billion forints in state funds to support various foundations. He underscored the fact that the foundations supported pursued worthy causes. At the same time Kajdi said that several examples for providing state support to foundations existed before the Antall government took office.*

"Initially I was interested in, then surprised by, statements of various government organs promising to release a special publication on the so-called 3,000-series government decisions of the past four years. They made those decisions appear as if the Antall government had covered up some illegal action," Jozsef Kajdi told this newspaper. In Kajdi's view, these statements were intended to suggest that in supporting various foundations, the previous government had irresponsibly given away state assets.

As the administrative state secretary pointed out, the 3,000-series determinations contain internal decisions of the government, assigning certain tasks to individual ministries. In Kajdi's judgment, using this method is a natural part of governmental work, and it is in use throughout the world. So-called internal decisions are being made everywhere. Such determinations reflected natural function of the Grosz, Nemeth, and Antall governments as well. The decisionmaking process of the present government also includes this method, he added.

With respect to 3,000-series determinations of a financial nature, no requirement exists for incorporating these in publicly available legal provisions, Kajdi says. The Antall and Boross cabinets simply continued the practice followed by previous governments. Since autumn 1987, when it once again became possible to establish foundations in Hungary, the support of foundations that also agreed to perform state functions became a natural part of governmental work. Such support came in the form of either providing state funds or transferring real property. This practice had also been accepted by previous governments, Kajdi said.

Some two thousand 3,000-series government determinations were issued during the past four years, according to the former state secretary. About 10 percent of these

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involved finances. Until November 1990, decisions involving financial support to foundations were within the scope of authority of various ministries, and there was no requirement to inform the cabinet about such fund transfers.

The Antall government was first to recognize the great disorder in this area, and the lack of control over state-funded support. For this reason, the Antall government established a rule requiring that foundation support be granted only with the concurrence of the government. The Finance Ministry subsequently promulgated a decree in this regard, and in 1992 parliament gave legal force to this rule by providing for the same in the state household law, Kajdi said. The law requires governmental approval before an organ funded by the state provides support funds to foundations. This practice was fully consistent with law, Kajdi stressed. In his view, raising ethical objections to prior governmental decisions, while lacking a legal basis to condemn the same, is truly unethical.

The state secretary recalled that state-funded support of foundations dates back to 1988. He mentioned the Andras Peto Foundation, organized for an important and noble purpose, as one example. He found it interesting that on 31 January 1990, a few months before the elections, the Pro Cultura Hungaria Foundation was established. It received 1.3 billion forints in state support funds from the government in power at the time. Ferenc Glatz, then minister of culture, served as chairman of the foundation's board. Nor has the grant of real property been only a recent practice: On 27 April 1990, five days before the new parliament convened, the newly established National Children's and Youth Foundation received KISZ [Communist Youth Organization] assets worth several billion forints, Kajdi added. Accordingly, the Antall government only continued an already ongoing administrative practice. The possibility of keeping something secret, or to veil something, has never occurred to either the Antall or the Boross governments, Kajdi stressed.

Prime Minister Gyula Horn's statement, according to which the previous government had squandered 16 billion forints in state funds by allocating that amount to support foundations, is false. Kajdi did not question the amount of money involved, but said that the value of real property given to foundations was included in that amount. Considering that Duna TV, for example, had to be created out of nothing, the amount involved is not so terribly large, Kajdi said. The World Federation of Hungarians received a headquarters building the same way. "I know that many people raise questions about this, but I am able to say that the government provided state support funds and real property for noble purposes," Kajdi said. These purposes can be challenged only on political grounds, and not on legal or ethical grounds, he said. Kajdi mentioned the foundations established for the support of Hungarians beyond the borders, and for nationalities residing in Hungary as positive examples. He regarded support provided for various health care-, education-, and social welfare-oriented foundations as equally important. These organizations deliver services the state cannot deliver, the former state secretary said.

Kajdi believes that the Horn government's promise to publicize decisions with financial implications is a futile effort because most people do not read MAGYAR KOZLONY. Thus citizens remain uninformed about such decisions. The sole good method to publicize things is to have the government spokesman announce decisions, the way this was done by the previous cabinet, Kajdi said.

Considering all this, the former state secretary regards the storm generated about previous 3,000-series governmental decisions as superfluous; their sole purpose is to discredit the previous government.

Kajdi also expressed other concerns regarding methods used by the new government. He said it was regrettable that despite election promises made earlier, the new government has begun political cleansing not only within government administration, but also in the economy. Kajdi said that considering his confidential assignment, he tendered his resignation matter of factly, even though the press reported that he offered his services to the new prime minister. None of this is true, Kajdi declared. On the other hand, he does not regard as natural that not even half the number of previous administrative state secretaries remained in their positions. He regards the fact that personnel changes resulting from the change in government have also affected division directors in certain ministries, as a warning. He expressed concern that this situation would fuel processes that could not be stopped. These processes could have been halted, because this was not a system change, it was merely a change in government.

Charges made by the present ruling parties, as opposition parties before, did not prove to be true either. Notably, they made claims to the effect that the ruling coalition led by the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] was developing its own hinterland in the economy and in every field of life, according to Kajdi. "I smiled whenever I heard these claims; I have never seen this clientele anywhere, nor do I see it now." This is well exemplified by the fact that a majority of those leaving government administration or relinquishing power are still looking for jobs, and this includes me, Kajdi concluded.

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Defense Minister Kolodziejczyk Dismissed

LD1011154994 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1511 GMT 10 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 10 Nov—The President's Press Office has reported that the Presidential Chancellery today received a motion from Waldemar Pawlak, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, to dismiss Piotr Kolodziejczyk from the post of national defense minister.

The prime minister gave as a justification for the motion the national defense minister's failure to implement National Defense Committee [KOK] decisions.

The president of the Polish Republic accepted the motion, the communique said.

'All Sides' Blamed for Army Leadership Spat

MM1011102994 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 5-6 Nov 94 pp 1-2

[Article by "K.L.": "They Did Not Declare Disobedience"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the Sejm Defense Commission, the principle of the nonpolitical status of the armed forces was breached at Drawsko. The report on the parliament members' investigation is more severe in its assessments than observers expected it to be, but it does not contain any conclusions about the individuals involved. According to Jerzy Szmajdzinski, who heads the commission, the report criticizes all of the sides involved in the dispute.

A subcommission composed of several deputies conducted the inquiry for a month. It questioned the head of the National Defense Ministry [MON], his deputies, and the members of the Armed Forces General Staff—in other words, almost all of the participants in the celebrated luncheon given at the Drawsko training ground on 30 September. The report was accepted without amendments by 18 votes to six by the entire Sejm Defense Commission on 4 November. The Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], the Union of Freedom, and the Union of Labor voted in favor, while the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] and the Nonparty Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR] voted against.

The commission found that, "despite discrepancies in individual accounts," the generals "did not actually declare disobedience" to the civilian head of the National Defense Ministry, but they nevertheless "criticized both him personally and the functioning of the ministry." The report states that "there was discussion of the date by which the minister should resign and the need to present the coalition with three candidates to fill his office, and the course of the meeting served the president of the Polish Republic as a basis for suggesting to the minister that he should resign." These facts were judged by the ministers as "decidedly negative because they were inconsistent with the principle of civilian and democratic control over the Armed Forces and the requirement that they remain nonpolitical in character."

"We note with concern an advanced process whereby the command structures of the Armed Forces are becoming independent of the defense sector's civilian leadership. This can constitute a threat to the efficient functioning of democratic control of the Armed Forces," the report goes on to say. The deputies state in general terms that that is the consequence of the fact that the General Staff was handed over "a series of powers vested in the minister's office." They do not specify why this development took place. In unofficial statements, they explain that the blame lies with both Defense Minister Kolodziejczyk, who himself abrogated a number of his own powers, and with the generals on the General Staff because that body apparently took it upon itself to usurp certain prerogatives. The commission recommends that legislative changes should be made soon, so it is made quite obvious that the president holds command over the Armed Forces, albeit through the agency of the defense minister, to whom, in turn, the chief of the General Staff is subordinate.

Despite the "critical appraisal of the situation at the Defense Ministry," the deputies do not see "sufficient reason for suggesting the defense minister's resignation" because that would make it more difficult for us to join NATO. They also criticize the president and the generals, but they recommend only that the defense minister should "institute disciplinary action in respect of the subordinate structures, including the possibility, where required, of administrative sanctions." The words "where required" mean that the report contains practically no recommendations concerning individual persons. Szmajdzinski stated that the report criticized all sides and that the commission itself "was not entirely without blame" because, if the deputies had monitored the situation earlier and more closely, they might well not have allowed it to develop to the stage where the General Staff became independent of the minister. "It is not true that the objective was to win the Armed Forces over to the side of any of the political forces," he continued. "The debate concerned their role and place in a democratic state. In our opinion, the current position is one of compromise and balance, and no one should feel a winner or a loser."

Szmajdzinski was asked whether the deputies serving on the commission could afford to refuse to answer the principal question of who was lying—Minister Kolodziejczyk, in stating that, at Drawsko, "the generals raised their hands against him [in an informal vote taken at the luncheon with Walesa] or the generals, according to whom all that took place at the training ground was merely "a discussion about the Armed Forces." "With the commission's present work procedures, it would not be possible to answer that question because of the lack of relevant investigative powers," the SLD deputy replied.

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Russian Envoy: Chernomyrdin To Visit Poland Soon

LD0911184294 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1657 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Legnica, 9 Nov—Yuriy Kashlev, Russian ambassador to Poland, said today in Legnica that, in his opinion, the visit to Poland by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, called off by the Russians because of the "unfavorable atmosphere," will take place in the not too distant future.

"Since the incident with Russian tourists at the Warsaw station, the situation has calmed down and the tension decreased. Russian experts continue their work in Warsaw on the text of agreements. Now we have only to wait a little for the Russian prime minister to pay the visit to Poland that has been so carefully prepared by the Russian side," Kashlev said.

Walesa Aide Presents Report on State of Nation

LD0911173394 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1522 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 9 Nov—Andrzej Zakrzewski, head of the Office for Political Services to the President, presented to journalists today a 300-page report on the state of the nation, prepared by 130 contributors. A similar report commissioned by the President's Chancellery was prepared three years ago.

The contributors to the report, including members of the presidential councils and coauthors of the previous report, consider performing the role of bridge between East and West as the greatest opportunity for Poland. The greatest threats listed in the report include the possibility of the reemergence of Russian imperialism and an agreement between Russia and Germany without Poland's participation. The authors of the report considered a lack of respect for the law and the state, the weakness of the law, and the inefficiency of the administration of justice to be the greatest internal threats.

Zakrzewski did not present the whole report because, as he said, the president had not familiarized himself with its content.

Finance Minister Discusses PHARE, EU Issues

BR0911141294 Brussels L'ECHO in French 9 Nov 94 p 2

[Interview with Finance Minister Grzegorz Kolodko by Francoise Delstanche; place and date not given: "The Polish Government Is Capable of Keeping its Promises"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Engaged in a sometimes stormy period of cohabitation between President Walesa and a government coalition comprising the Social Democratic Party (former communists) and the Peasants' Party, Poland is pursuing its determined path toward integration in the European Union [EU]. To this end, it is endeavoring to revamp, as fast as possible, its economic structures, while, at the same time, stimulating the economic recovery that is deemed essential to closing the gap that still separates it from the Community average. In this respect, the first year of the term looks positive overall inasmuch as the GDP, which started growing again two years ago, is continuing to rise. After some serious delays, the mass privatization program aimed at whipping the process along has finally been adopted. However, this does not mean that all of the pitfalls have been avoided: The coalition has proved to be divided on the issue of privatization, about which Waldemar Pawlak's Polish Peasant Party was rather hesitant, while unemployment is still high. However, Finance Minister Grzegorz Kolodko, with whom we met on the margins of a meeting with his European counterparts, feels that the difficulties are tending to disappear.*

[Delstanche] Do you think it will be possible to keep the promises made by the governing parties during the election campaign?

[Kolodko] I think so, but we have to clarify what has been promised and by when. Throughout the economic transition, assurances were made that economic policy would aim to reduce the costs of this transition, and I think that, after one year of government, we have kept to this program to a certain extent. Real incomes are growing, and wages have grown 3 percent in real terms this year, while pensions have risen 6-7 percent. We will be able to maintain the unemployment rate, which fell for the first time by 0.3 percent between August and October. It is still very high—16.5 percent of the working population—but we hope we have almost reached the peak and will see it fall off next year.

At the same time, this government also promised to keep inflation steady. Last December, the rise in prices over 12 months was 37.6 percent. This should be brought down to 28 percent next month, while the goal set for next year by the government in the 1995 budget is 17 percent.

We have also paid greater attention to investment in human capital and increased spending on health, education, and the social security network.

[Delstanche] However, some people are not content.

[Kolodko] If you ask the people whether their government has met their expectations, I indeed feel that their response will, for the most part, be negative. This can be largely explained by the difference between inventory economics and flow economics. During the first few years of the transition, real household incomes and the financial situation of businesses deteriorated significantly, and the 2 or 3 percent that has been recovered is a far cry from making up for the previous deterioration. Consequently, it will take years to bring the standard of living back up.

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Furthermore, expectations are too high. I agree with critics who say that the ruling parties have made too many promises and that these expectations should be repositioned within a correct time frame.

[Delstanche] Will this slight upturn be able to continue?

[Kolodko] We will stay the course next year, with growth of at least 5 percent, increased investment of at least 7 percent, and increased exports of approximately 8-9 percent in real terms.

However, while it is true that, from the macroeconomic point of view, things are going relatively well, from the political point of view it is not really the same because all these figures only represent averages that conceal a profound redistribution of income and well-being. A 3-percent rise in wages therefore means that some people are enjoying an increase of 13 percent and that others are losing 10 percent. Obviously, the latter rightly say that their situation has worsened. The inequalities in Poland have enlarged considerably.

[Delstanche] Is next year's budget, which was adopted by the government but still needs to be approved by parliament, compatible with the financial objectives?

[Kolodko] This year's budget will end with a deficit that is less than forecast. I predict that it will not exceed 3.3 percent of the GNP, compared to the 4.1 percent initially forecast. For next year, we are counting on keeping the deficit at the same level as this year.

In its medium-term strategy, the government intends to reduce inflation in 1997 while maintaining its monetary, fiscal, and social objectives in compatibility with a growth rate that should not be less than 5 percent per year. That means cumulative growth of 25 percent over the period 1994-97. This figure could even be exceeded if we manage to stabilize the economy and the political situation.

[Delstanche] Nevertheless, differences of opinion have appeared with the Central Bank regarding the prospects of inflation.

[Kolodko] We have indeed had problems, but we have resolved them. The bank accepted the inflation goals set by the government for 1995, although there are still some differences about how they should be achieved. Comparisons could also be made to what is happening in other places, where there is not total agreement from the very first talks. I know that strong criticism has been leveled at the Bundesbank, the U.S. Federal Reserve, and the Central Bank of Belgium regarding their interest rate policies. This is nothing unusual.

I therefore hope that the rates will be adjusted downward, but this decision is up to the bank, which is independent.

[Delstanche] Do you not intend to discuss the independence of that institution?

[Kolodko] Not at all. The opposition parties are the only ones putting that idea forward. I can assure you that there is no discussion about this and that the independence of the bank is 100-percent assured, as is the independence of my country.

[Delstanche] You said earlier that the debt, both internal and external, is one of the main burdens on the budget. Is this still the case following the cancellation of debts with foreign banks?

[Kolodko] Your budget minister would like to have my public debt, but I would like to have his capital market. So everything is relative. Our public debt is 72-74 percent of the GNP, much less than Belgium's.

In next year's budget, however, this will still be a genuine challenge for Poland because servicing this debt takes up 17.1 percent of all budget expenditure.

The debt reduction agreement concluded on 27 October with the London Club will impose an extra cost because we have to reimburse what until recently has only been paid in part. This does not mean that this is not a good agreement: It reduces the trade debt by $6.4 billion and lightens the load in the long term, while, at the same time, increasing Poland's credibility on international markets.

[Delstanche] You are in Brussels to participate in a meeting with your European counterparts. What do you expect from them?

[Kolodko] Our aim is to become EU's member in the year 2000. This will be difficult, but it is possible. Two months ago [European Commission's President], Jacques Santer said that we could join at the end of his term.

In the shorter term, we hope that the structural priorities of our government will be better taken into account in the management of the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program.

It is also time to decide what the membership criteria will be, especially for the four Visegrad countries. Sooner or later, we will be members, but we do not know how or under what conditions. This is not a matter of weeks, but we must talk about this before the intergovernmental conference in 1996.

Just as the Maastricht criteria are known by all, I would like to know the criteria governing our membership—both qualitative and quantitative. They must be linked to the growth rate, macroeconomic stabilization, and the competitiveness of our economy, but surely not to the level of the GNP per capita. We are trying to bring the public deficit down to 60 percent by the year 2000 and to reduce inflation to 5 or 6 percent. The public deficit may be close to zero, but the GNP will remain considerably lower than the Community average. If we want to reduce this gap somewhat over the next six years, we will have to

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ensure that growth is at least double that found in the EU. However, that will still not prevent the gap from remaining very wide.

Poland Seeks To Strengthen Links to UK

MS1011101294 London FINANCIAL TIMES in English 10 Nov 94 p 4

[Article by Anthony Robinson: "Poland Bids For Improved UK Trade and Investment"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mr Waldemar Pawlak, the Polish prime minister, yesterday sought to attract more UK trade and investment by stressing Poland's large market—equivalent to the combined populations of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia and former East Germany and access to non-Russian sources of oil.

Addressing a Polish business conference at the Confederation of British Industry in London, Mr Pawlak said that Poland was currently enjoying rapid export-led economic growth and broad political agreement on the development of market-based reforms.

Polish-UK trade has more than tripled in the past four years. This is partly a result of growing UK investment by companies such as Pilkington Glass, British Vita, British Sugar, British American Tobacco, Cadbury Schweppes, BP and British Oxygen, and also because of rising exports of North Sea oil to Polish refineries through the port of Gdansk.

In the first seven months of this year Polish exports to the UK rose to 305m pounds ($500.2m) from 251m pounds in the same period of 1993, while UK exports to Poland slipped back to 366m pounds from 415m pounds, mainly because of a fall in oil and refined product imports to 88m pounds from 151m pounds.

Poland's diversification from dependence on Russian oil was an early priority of post-communist governments. By 1992 oil imports from Russia had dropped to 48 per cent of the total, while the UK supplied 21 per cent, Iran 18 per cent and Norway 8 per cent.

Last week Russia and Poland were due to finalise an agreement on the construction of the Polish section of a gas pipeline which will eventually bring 67bn cu m [cubic meters] of natural gas annually to central and western Europe from the Yamal peninsula. Mainly for domestic political reasons, Mr Victor Chernomyrdin, the Russian prime minister, called off the meeting, but the substance of the deal has not been affected.

Poland will help build and finance the pipeline and take 14bn cu m of Russian gas annually. Unlike earlier Soviet gas pipelines, which terminated in former east Germany and so represented Soviet control over Poland, the Yamal pipeline will transit Poland and the main throughput will be sold on the German market.

Modernisation of Poland's oil-refining and petrochemical industry, requiring a total investment of about $2.5bn, is one of the government's long-term priorities. But potential foreign investors, including UK oil and energy groups, have been frustrated by political uncertainty over what strategy will follow. Mr Pawlak said yesterday that the government was currently inclined to restructure the industry before privatisation. Officials added that Warsaw would be seeking substantial foreign investment.

Developing the energy sector was part of a broader plan to restructure eight industrial sectors, including coal, iron and steel and shipbuilding, which had already had subsidies removed and were now operating profitably, said Mr Marek Pol, trade and industry minister.

'Anarchists,' Police Clash in Warsaw

LD0911183994 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1650 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 9 Nov—Scuffles broke out this afternoon in Warsaw between anarchists and police, when an antiracist demonstration reached the seat of the Janusz Bryczkowski-led Polish National Front at Nowy Swiat Street.

The police formed a line separating the seat of the Front from the demonstrators but failed to prevent windows in the building from being broken by young anarchists.

Parties Protest Dismissal of Bogdan Pek

LD0911142294 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1313 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 9 Nov—The Polish Peasant Party [PSL] parliamentary floor group and the Political Council of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] have protested the dismissal of Bogdan Pek from the chairmanship of the Sejm Privatization Commission. Pek was dismissed at yesterday's meeting of the commission with SLD [Democratic Left Alliance] and UW [Union of Freedom] deputies voting against him.

In a statement for PAP, the PSL group says, among other things, that the dismissal of Pek "has been treated as confirmation of the intention to hush up or diminish results of the inspection of law violations during the privatization of the Bank Slaski [Silesian Bank] and Bank Handlowy [Merchant Bank] S.A." PSL deputies are of the opinion that Pek's activities aimed at "restoring honesty and principles of good management in the process of privatization."

The KPN links the dismissal of Pek to the election with SLD and UW votes of Marcin Swiecicki as mayor of Warsaw. According to the confederation, it signals a "forthcoming change on the Polish political scene" and the "betrayal of the electorate" of these groupings.

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Union of Freedom Activist Labuda Interviewed

MM0911162394 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 2 Nov 94 p 3

[Interview with Sejm Deputy Barbara Labuda, Union of Freedom activist, by correspondent Katarzyna Janowska; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Janowska] The circumstances of your visit to Krakow indicate symptoms of an internal crisis within your party. What is the reason for that crisis?

[Labuda] It is very difficult to answer that question because the phenomenon involves a whole range of psychological, sociological, and political aspects. But, in the most general terms, the party I helped to found is currently changing its orientation to one that is much more right-wing, conservative, and Christian Democratic in character. These new views are represented primarily at the level of Union of Freedom's central authorities. [passage omitted]

The problem lies in the fact that none of the political groups active in Poland can claim to command really strong public support. This is a banal truism, which, however, leads to an important conclusion. Even the strongest party, the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], which in any case embraces several different groups, secured no more than 21 percent of the election votes, which is why it would not be capable of running the country on its own. As a result, politicians believe that, in order to command any authority on the political stage, they must seek support from the institution that holds tremendous power over Poland's political, spiritual, and financial life—that is, the church. So everyone comes knocking on the church's door. [passage omitted]

Every country needs a group that will rule it and a strong opposition capable of producing an alternative program comprising specific proposals and concepts, as well as people prepared to put these into practice. But the opposition must make clear decisions on its stand and declare them firmly and publicly. I do not like the fact that some of my colleagues wish to draw advantages from belonging to a group that defines itself as liberal or social democratic, while, at the same time, conducting a definitely right-wing policy, or vice versa. I regard subservience to the church hierarchy as politically very unwise. Experience shows that the church hierarchy will always come to an understanding with the ruling group. It would even come to an understanding with me if I were prime minister. But I will never be prime minister. In my opinion, those who want to rule Poland should keep the church hierarchy at arm's length. The ordinary people do not want to see politicians fall on their knees before the bishops.

[Janowska] So where do you see the Union of Freedom's place?

[Labuda] There is still an empty, unfilled space between the right and the moderate left, a space we ought to occupy. Very many people in Poland see themselves as politically homeless. They say that they have no one to vote for. They have tested the right-wing orientation with negative results because they found that it is, to quote them, "terribly fusty." Now they are testing the left-wing parties, which, it turns out, are not left-wing at all. That test is turning out negative, too. I believe that there is room for a sensible, liberal social democratic or moderately left-wing organization that would support the free market economy but stop short of giving cult status to privatization and, at the same time, preserve a liberal outlook on questions of world views and morals. I constantly meet people who hold precisely this kind of views and complain that they have no one they can vote for. [passage omitted]

[Janowska] In your opinion, is the Democratic Forum a group that could potentially split your party?

[Labuda] Definitely not. Unfortunately not. I believe that only a determined and dynamic group that would be prepared to take over the leadership of the party, also in the sense of replacing the present individual leaders, would have a chance of salvaging the Union of Freedom. Otherwise, the whole thing will just gradually crumble away.

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Iliescu Discusses Cooperation at Casablanca Forum

AU0911122994 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 2 Nov 94 pp 1-2

[Speech by Romanian President Ion Iliescu at the Casablanca Economic Conference on 1 November 1994: "We Are Convinced That This Meeting Will Contribute to the Identifying the Most Appropriate Equilibrium Between Political Requirements and Economic and Financial Priorities in the Middle East and Africa"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Your Majesty, Ladies and Gentlemen: First of all I would like to express my most cordial thanks to His Majesty for the kind invitation extended to me to participate in the Casablanca Forum, a meeting that marks a particularly important stage for the future of the peace process and for the stability and harmonious development of the entire region.

I take great pleasure in taking the floor at this meeting, which is taking place under the illustrious auspices of Your Majesty, a steadfast promoter of dialogue and understanding among the sides involved in the Middle East conflict.

I would also like to extend to the representatives of the United States and of the Russian Federation, in their capacity as co-sponsors, and to the Council for Foreign Relations, as well as to the World Economic Forum, our deepest appreciation for the efforts made with a view to preparing this meeting and ensuring its successful progress.

Your Majesty, our participation in this conference is determined first of all by the attention and interest we accord to cooperation with all the states of the Middle East and Africa and by the geo-political, economic, and strategic importance of this region. Our participation is also an expression of Romania's desire to support peaceful solutions to the complex problems with which the states in this geographical area are confronted.

The international community is aware of the radical changes brought about mainly by the dismantlement of bipolarism and the end of the Cold War period and of ideological confrontation between East and West. The revolutions in central and eastern Europe—a region to which Romania too belongs—returned freedom and dignity to the peoples living in that part of the world, and created for them appropriate conditions for returning to traditional democratic values and to respect for fundamental human rights and political pluralism.

Evolutions of historical importance are also taking place in other geographic areas. The Middle East is a telling example in this respect. Thanks to the realism and courage displayed by certain politicians, who took upon themselves the responsibility to emerge from inertia and shoulder the imperatives of peace, the Middle East entered a process of reconciliation that only recently seemed impossible. The international conference on the Middle East issue, held in Madrid in October of 1991, marked a decisive moment in getting the peace process started and turning from military confrontation to negotiations between the sides involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

We hope that this process is going to be irreversible, in spite of numerous obstacles that have to be overcome in order to attain overall peace, tolerance, and confidence among the countries and peoples of this geographic area.

Also in connection with the above, we are greatly troubled by the acts of violence that have claimed innocent lives, acts engineered by extremist elements that are being outstripped by the evolution of events.

The positive results obtained at the Israeli-PLO and Israeli-Jordanian bilateral peace negotiations attest to real chances for peace, and the fact that our meeting is taking place at a favorable political moment brought about by the signing of the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan on 26 October 1994, is a particularly satisfying fact. This act is a new victory of realism and the political wisdom of the signatories, as well as of the consistent efforts and decisive contribution made by the United States to achieving progress in the Middle East peace process.

We wish to express the hope that, in this respect, in the near future, concrete results will also be obtained in the peace negotiations between Syria and Israel and Israel and Lebanon.

In this context, I would like to take this opportunity at this rostrum to reassert Romania's firm determination to continue to support the peace process in the Middle East and to encourage contacts and dialogue among the parties interested in finding, through negotiations, political solutions to the other problems that are yet to be solved. We have received with satisfaction the invitation extended to Romania to participate in the multilateral peace negotiations as well as our participation in the Casablanca Forum, and we view these as recognition of our country's active contribution to the peace process and of the positive role played by our country in this process.

Immediately after the Declaration of Principles was signed by Israel and the PLO in Washington on 13 September 1993, Romania reasserted its willingness to participate, with companies that belong to the state and private sector, in the program of rebuilding the autonomous Palestinian regions; and in this respect an interministerial committee in charge of coordinating actions that have to be taken in this regard has been established. As a result of this, a number of Romanian economic ministries, state enterprises, and private firms have made public the means available to them in order to become involved in carrying out work in the areas of electric power, water resources, and transportation, and in the construction of roads and dwellings, hospitals, cement-producing factories, and other such things. We

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proceed from the experience accumulated previously by Romanian enterprises in building economic assets in various Arab countries, from the potential of our experts, and from their ability to adjust to the specific conditions prevailing in those regions.

We hope the commitments made by international financial organizations and donor groups of nations will became operational, because the success of reconstruction in the Palestinian territories can be a test for the success of similar actions in other regions of the Middle East.

We believe that solutions to political problems of the region, together with economic-financial reconstruction and development programs, could confer on the peace process the desired stability.

We are convinced that our meeting will contribute to identifiying the most adequate equilibrium between political requirements and economic and financial priorities in the Middle East.

In the process of economic integration of the countries in the Middle East and North Africa into the flow of world economy, an important and active role is incumbent upon the member countries of the European Union, as well as other countries, including Romania. This region continues to be rich in natural resources and capital resources, is located in the immediate geographic proximity of the European continent, and has a dynamic class of tradesmen and entrepreneurs, as well as an important well-qualified and relatively cheap labor force. Another factor that should encourage international cooperation in the Middle East is the emergence of clear signs for rethinking the strategy and system of economic and social development in the majority of countries in the region in keeping with the new developments and requirements of the world economy.

The expansion and development of cooperation with the Middle Eastern states opens up broad prospects for their economic progress and makes a contribution to the reduction of gaps that separate them from rich countries. We are concerned by the fact that the deepening of the gap between rich and poor countries continues to be a threat to peace and world security, and means a dangerous source of tension and conflicts among nations. Therefore, Romania has supported the idea of Partnership for Development, within the United Nations, at a global level—the need for which is perceived with increasingly greater intensity—and this is becoming a priority option for all nations.

As a country located in the heart of Europe at the crossroads of great geo-strategic areas, Romania is an element crucial for the stability of the region to which it belongs and a vector of international cooperation. Therefore, our country is directly interested in assisting integration processes at a continental level and in implementing regional cooperation projects, especially in the Central Europe, Black Sea, and Danube basin areas. On a broader plane, Romania is interested in assisting the acceleration of economic cooperation with neighboring areas, including the states in the Black Sea basin and those in the Mediterranean region. The achievement of peace in the Middle East will no doubt create favorable conditions for actions to expand the economic and technological cooperation between the countries in that region and the countries in other geographic areas.

Your Majesty, Ladies and Gentlemen: Confident of the success of reform, a process that is currently taking place in our country and that is in accordance with the options of the Romanian people for democracy, a nation under a rule of law, and a market economy, I wish to assure you that, in their efforts to ensure economic and social development, the states in the Middle East and North Africa have and will continue to have in Romania a credible and loyal partner.

Thank you.

Defense Council Member Questioned on Report

AU0911170494 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 3 Nov 94 p 4

[Report by Crina Nedelcu: "General Vasile Ionel Says There Are Contradictions of an Ethnic Nature That Must Be Kept Under Observation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] General Vasile Ionel, presidential counselor and member of the Supreme Defense Council, was questioned yesterday in the Defense Commissions of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate in connection with the Council's 1992-1993 activity report.

The most sensitive question was asked by the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] representative, who requested explanations regarding one of the points included in the defense doctrine according to which there is currently no danger of imminent foreign aggression but there are contradictions of an ethnic nature that must be kept under observation. "The defense system must anticipate possible internal destabilizing actions," declared General Ionel, who also asserted that weapons and ammunition are continually brought into the country.

The defense commissions of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate have set up a joint subcommission that is to elaborate a report on the Supreme Defense Council's activity report, which is to be submitted for debate in the parliament plenum.

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Krajina Serbs Launch Air Strikes in Bihac Region

AU0911153094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The chetniks today launched air strikes against Bihac, the UN protected zone. The aggressor's planes flew from Udbine airport in the UN Protected Area in the Republic of Croatia. Mirza Sadikovic reports:

[Begin Sadikovic recording] Since this morning, and particularly after midday, this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina has literally been on fire. The center of Bihac, all the defense lines, and the newly liberated areas have been pounded with howitzers and tanks from Pljesevica, Licko Petrovo Selo, (Meljinovac), Donji Lapac, and the surrounding area. (Velike Kote), (Zavalje), Zeljeva airport, [word indistinct] have also been under attack. Over 1,300 artillery shells have been fired from the said chetnik positions so far, while at least 10 tanks have been firing from the direction of [word indistinct], that is, Licko Petrovo Selo.

On top of this, the chetniks have also been launching heavy infantry attacks. This is one of the worst days in this UN protected zone. It is impossible to determine the exact number of casualties. A large number of civilians have been wounded. Entire houses and districts are in flames [words indistinct].

How little all the UN resolutions mean to the chetniks has been illustrated best by their planes' stroll over Bihac following the bombing. And what a miracle, and what an irony! It took a whole 20 minutes for the NATO planes to appear!

The Bihac Council and other bodies of civilian and military authorities have lodged sharp protests to the United Nations over the airstrikes, and the new chetnik attacks from the territory of the Republic of Croatia. But what difference does it make? [end recording]

UN Confirms Air Raid

AU0911205094 Paris AFP in English 2024 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 9 (AFP)—A plane, operating out of Serb-controlled Croatia, Wednesday [9 November] carried out a missile attack against the western Bosnian town of Bihac, a UN-declared safe area, according to UN and media reports here.

A UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] spokesman here said one plane, seen by UN observers on the ground, fired a missile into central Bihac town around midday Wednesday, causing a number of casualties. Major Koos Sol said the missile attack was preceded by intense shelling of the town and surrounding areas. Much of the shelling came from secessionist Croatian Serbs, he said. Croatian Serbs, who have declared their Krajina region independent, have been assisting Bosnian Serbs in their fight against the Bosnian Moslem-led army.

UN Polish troops on the border positively identified shelling as coming out of Croatia, Sol said. UNPROFOR had earlier warned both Bosnian and Croatian Serbs against attacking Bihac town, notably after a missile attack against the city last week. An attack by an aircraft constituted a "drastic" escalation for which UNPROFOR was likely to consider retaliatory action, he added.

The attack came as UN special envoy to the former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi was calling on warring parties to respect UN-declared safe areas in Bosnia and spare the lives of civilians caught up in the 31-month-old war.

Sarajevo radio, for its part, said Serb planes had bombed Bihac town, causing at least 10 casualties. A lot of buildings were on fire, the radio added.

Ammunition Plant Damaged

AU1011095094 Paris AFP in English 0903 GMT 10 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 10 (AFP)—A Serb air attack, out of Croatia, badly damaged an ammunition factory in Bihac town, wounding at least nine workers in one of two major attacks on the UN-declared safe area, a UN military spokesman said here Thursday.

The Orao turbo-jet fighter-bomber, operating out of Serb-held Croatia, launched two Maverick-type rockets at targets in the west Bosnian town and its northern suburb Wednesday midday, Major Herve Gourmelon of the UN Protection Forces (UNPROFOR) said. He could not confirm reports by the Bosnian ambassador in Zagreb that Moslem-led government forces in Bihac enclave later shot down a plane. Unconfirmed reports however spoke of a helicopter being fired at by Bosnian Government forces over Bihac in the afternoon, Gourmelon said.

Meanwhile, in Pale, near Sarajevo, Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said the self-declared Bosnian Serb parliament will probably vote to declare a state of war in "threatened" parts of Serb-controlled Bosnia. He was speaking late Wednesday after deputies held seven hours of closed-door debate on the issue without reaching a decision. They were to resume their emergency session at 0900 GMT Thursday. The session was called in response to recent territorial gains by troops of the Moslem-dominated government in northwest and western Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Karadzic was quoted by the Bosnian Serb agency SRNA as saying that it was very probable that the parliament would declare a state of war on those parts of the 70 percent of Bosnian territory under Serb control that were threatened by government offensives.

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In Bihac, UN observers on the ground reported a total of 14 civilians wounded in the air raid, nine of them at the Krajina Metal Works munitions' factory where there were a number of secondary explosions after the attack. The second missile was fired at an unspecified target at Zeljava airfield, northwest of the town.

Gourmelon said UNPROFOR had no mandate to attack Serb forces in Croatia, despite the air raid and heavy cross-border shelling against Moslem-populated centres in the enclave. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation enforces a no-fly zone over Bosnia itself, as was the case earlier this year when its fighters shot down four Serb planes which had also flown out Serb-controlled Croatia.

Meanwhile, Moslems from border towns such as Velika Kladusa, which has been heavily shelled by the secessionist Croatian Serbs from their Krajina stronghold, were seeking refuge inside Croatia amid reports of troop build-ups along the border in preparation for a possible Croatian Serb onslaught.

Forces loyal to Fikret Abdic, a Moslem Bihac warlord defeated earlier this year by Sarajevo forces, were also mobilizing in Croatia and might soon re-enter the war.

Meanwhile, heavy fighting was continuing in northern Bosnia with nearly 600 heavy weapons detonations reported in the last 24 hours from the Posavina corridor to the sector east of Doboj where government forces have launched a new attack to seize high ground at Ciganiste, overlooking the Serb-held town.

In Sarajevo, there was heavy firing along the confrontation line in the centre of town Wednesday evening, but no immediate reports of any civilians casualties.

At least six people were wounded by sniper fire in town earlier in the day, hospitals reported.

Civilian Casualties

LD0911221094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 9 Nov 94

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Words indistinct] one of the most difficult days of war in which, since early this morning, [words indistinct] chetniks have been launching attacks against all defense lines in the operational zone of the 5th Corps, or rather, all parts of the Bihac district.

The culmination of today's savagery, and of the whole of the offensive on (?this area), which has been going on for several days now, was the bombing of Bihac, by aircraft which took off and landed without any problems at Udbina airport in the so-called SAO [Serb Autonomous Region] Krajina, that is, the Republic of Croatia. There were approximately 10 casualties among civilians and great damage was caused to buildings. [passage indistinct]

Izetbegovic Protests UNPROFOR Inaction

AU0911201794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Nov 94

[Report by Mehmedalija Sisic on a news conference by Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic in Sarajevo on 9 November—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Sisic] Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic first made a statement about what was going on, and then answered several reporters' questions.

[Izetbegovic] As you know, Sarajevo was badly shelled yesterday, and six civilians—three of them children—were killed. Today again, we received information about an hour ago that the city is being shelled again. UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] has done nothing. We have noticed that, when it comes to the cease-fire violations in Sarajevo, they follow a plan and in phases. You must have noticed that first the blue routes were closed, and UNPROFOR did not react, did not react effectively, and it did not prevent this, and then the Igman road was shelled, and has been shelled for the last two months. Then the shooting came closer to the city, and then there was the shelling of Hrasnica. And still UNPROFOR did not react. Then several days ago there was firing on another line, from Stup to Dobrinja. Again there was no reaction. Last night the city itself was shelled, the city center was shelled. Therefore, a whole series of developments have led to the situation where the NATO ultimatum of 9 February has become invalid. We get the impression that UNPROFOR, instead of carrying out its mandate, has effectively quashed any NATO operations, and in certain aspects one can say that it has deterred these operations.

We have also had news of the aggression on the Bihac region from Knin, that is, from the UN Protected Areas [UNPA]. First let me say that humanitarian convoys have not reached the Bihac region for almost half a year. UNPROFOR has done nothing effective to enable the arrival of these convoys, but it has allowed Martic's army to amass in the UNPA on the Bosnia-Herzegovina border, and has also not reacted to attacks from that direction, from the direction of the so-called Knin Krajina on Bosnia-Herzegovina. We have heard today that the aggression has intensified against the Bihac region. Soldiers have been captured there from the Lika corps, from the Banija and Knin corps [Croatian Serb formations]. We have also heard today about the violation of the no-fly zone there. According to news that we received two hours ago, the Bihac region was bombed today. Two Jastreb aircraft bombed the Bihac region, while yesterday there were flights over the region, and there was no reaction by NATO. They were probably not called in. They were not told about it by UNPROFOR, although it was obliged to do so. Today the bombing of the Bihac region also passed without any reaction. These are violations of a no-fly zone that was introduced—let me remind you—by Resolutions 781 and 816.

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Furthermore, we have heard that an attack is imminent on the enclaves along the Drina, that is, Srebrenica, Zepa, and Gorazde. According to the information that we have, these attacks could come very soon. The situation is extremely serious, and we want to draw the attention of the world to this. Here we also have to stress that no humanitarian convoy with medicine has reached Srebrenica for a long time. UNPROFOR is quite passive about this. It is not doing anything, and is not even raising much noise about it. We think that here the situation is particularly grave. We are expecting an attack at any moment. So we would like to draw the attention of the world to this.

Instead of carrying out their mandate, it seems to us that senior UNPROFOR officials are meddling in politics, and are formulating policies here, while the world thinks that they are carrying out their mandate in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I have described to you how that mandate is being carried out. And while this is happening, UNPROFOR officials are issuing political statements. We received with great dissatisfaction here the statement by General de Lapresle—I do not know what the occasion was—when he said that the Contact Group plan has to be corrected, that the Serbs should be helped, and that one should give in to the Serbs, which effectively undermines, that is, annuls the Contact Group plan. This statement represents a subversion of the Contact Group peace plan.

Based on all these facts, we believe that UNPROFOR is not carrying out its mandate, which makes peace even more remote, and perpetuates the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. UNPROFOR has been justifying its behavior by saying it is because of the security of its soldiers in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We can understand the concern for the security of the soldiers, but we think that even a peace mission of UNPROFOR, the peacekeeping mission, carries with it a level of risk that was implied when they first arrived in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We think that this concern for security cannot be taken so far that it completely pacifies and paralyzes the work of UNPROFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In connection with this we will ask the Security Council to reconsider the work of UNPROFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the manner in which it carries out its mandate.

[Sisic] The first reporters' question was the following: It was said at this morning's news conference at UNPROFOR headquarters that one shell was fired from the city, wounding one child in the part of the city that is not under the control of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. Did you know about this?

[Izetbegovic] We reject such accusations as completely unfounded, and as an excuse for inactivity.

[Sisic] What will be done next, was another question.

[Izetbegovic] We first of all think that UNPROFOR should do its job, as I have just said. However, regardless of this, we will of course defend ourselves as far as we can. Our means for defending ourselves in Srebrenica, Zepa, and Gorazde are unfortunately limited. They are limited in Zepa, in Gorazde, and particularly in Srebrenica, since there—if you remember—we handed in our weapons last year in accordance with the agreement reached there, and left the town completely at the defense of UNPROFOR. There UNPROFOR has a special responsibility, because of this agreement. However, regardless of this, the people in Srebrenica, Zepa, and Gorazde will resist any attacks. We will help them to the best of our ability.

[Sisic] Mr. President, do you think that this behavior by UNPROFOR reflects the intentions of Western governments with troops here to prevent the liberation of Bosnia-Herzegovina territory?

[Izetbegovic] This behavior by UNPROFOR is nothing new, but one can notice it quietening down [pacifikacija] further over the recent period, and this does coincide with the military successes of our army.

Karadzic Would 'Welcome' Lifting of Arms Embargo

AU0911184194 Paris AFP in English 1807 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Nov 9 (AFP) - The self-declared Bosnian Serb parliament began an emergency meeting here Wednesday to debate whether to declare all-out war throughout territory they control in Bosnia. [passage omitted]

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said before entering the meeting that the outcome depended on the "deputies'" reaction to a government offensive centered on the regions of Bihac and Kupres. He said a state of war throughout the 70 percent of territory the Serbs control in Bosnia would mean a general mobilization of all able-bodied men and the proclamation of martial law. He added that in regions where a state of war would be declared, power would be concentrated in the hands of five or seven people whom he did not name.

Karadzic also said that strict rules of discipline would be imposed on Serb soldiers in the event of a state of war especially when it comes to the behavior of soldiers on the war front.

He said he would welcome a U.S. plan to lift the arms embargo at present imposed on the Bosnian Moslems, saying it was in any case non-existent. Lifting it "would make it clear that the United States is implicated in a civil war," he said, denouncing "international support" for the latest government offensive.

The Bosnian Serbs' Assistant Chief-of-Staff General Milan Gvero said the government offensive in the northwestern areas of Bihac and Kupres had been "completely stopped," saying that in the Bihac pocket, Serb troops had retaken most of the territory they lost last week. [passage omitted]

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Rules Out Dissolving Assembly

LD0911183894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1748 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—Before the Srpska republic assembly session in Pale today, Srpska republic President Radovan Karadzic said it is very likely that the parliament will pass a decision to introduce a state of war, but only "in the most threatened territories of the republic."

Karadzic added in a statement for SRNA that the Srpska republic is committed to peace, but that the state of war will be introduced in the republic's territory if the deputies decide to do so and to the extent they find necessary, according to how they estimate the intensity of the Croatian and Muslim offensive. "If the embargo on the import of arms is lifted, we will certainly impose a state of war and not a single Security Council resolution will be observed," Karadzic said. He added: "In that event, the Security Council will not exist for the Srpska republic."

Karadzic explained that the introduction of a state of war would mean the mobilization of the whole of the manpower and all available resources, as well as the introduction of the martial law. He also said that "the dissolution of the Assembly is completely out of the question" under any circumstances.

Western Front Losses Discussed

AU0911174994 Paris AFP in English 1721 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Nov 9 (AFP)—The self-declared Bosnian Serb parliament began an emergency meeting here Wednesday [9 November] to debate whether to declare all-out war throughout territory they control in Bosnia.

The parliament session, which began three hours late at 1415 GMT, was called in response to recent territorial gains by mainly Moslem government troops in northwest and western Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said before entering the meeting that the outcome depended on the deputies' reaction to a government offensive centered on the regions of Bihac and Kupres.

Session Ends; No Decisions

LD0911232694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2235 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 9 November (TANJUG)—The session of the People's Assembly of the Srpska republic ended in Pale at 2100 GMT this evening. The decision on a possible introduction of a state of war in the republic was not made, SRNA reported.

The parliament session will be resumed at 0900 GMT tomorrow when, as it has been announced, a definitive decision on the recommendation of the supreme command of the Srpska republic's armed forces to introduce a state of war will be made.

The deputies of the Srpska republic assembly will also discuss a draft amendment to the constitution. The agenda also includes the implementation of the law on judicial procedure during a state of war or the imminent danger of war, as well as the law on military courts.

Before the debate, the deputies were addressed by Metropolitan of Dabar and Bosnia Nikolaj who called on the deputies to be "reasonable when making the decision." He expressed the readiness of the Serbian Orthodox Church to assist in all ways, as before, "the just struggle of the Serb people for freedom and self-determination."

Ganic Interviewed on Federation, Army Successes

AU0711201794 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 3 Nov 94 p 7

[Interview with Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency and vice president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, by Azra Kaurin; place and date not given: "The War at Half-Time"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Ejup Ganic, a member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency, dressed in camouflage fatigues, has of late frequently visited Bosnia-Herzegovina Army troops fighting on the front lines. He is a leader of the SDA [Party of Democratic Action]. He was born in Sandzak, near Novi Pazar. He attended university and got his master's degree in Belgrade; did his doctorate at MIT [Massachusetts Institute of Technology] in the United States; and, until 1982, taught at the University of Illinois in Chicago. He is a man with a high reputation in the field of thermofluid science, having published more than 100 articles on the subject. In 1982, he went to Sarajevo to teach at the University School of Engineering. Though he is a very busy man, he still finds time for science.*

Dr. Ganic is one of President Izetbegovic's closest associates. Rumor has it that he is a rival of Prime Minister Silajdzic, but he emphatically denies this. He gave us an interview after returning to Sarajevo from one of his trips abroad.

[Kaurin] How much progress has been made in implementing the Washington Agreement and the Constitution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation?

[Ganic] The framework of the federation has been set, i.e. appointing the president and vice president of the federation and forming the Federal Assembly. There have been quite a few changes regarding the army as well: The conflict between the Croatian Defense Council and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is a thing of the past, and we have founded a joint command and the Constitutional Court of the Federation, on which there will also be three foreigners.

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Unfortunately, there are some problems: We are behind with the establishment of local authorities as prescribed by the Constitution: The Federal Assembly is not convened very often. Actually it has only convened once in four months. We expected that the Federal Government would produce concrete results in implementing the internal organization of the state....

We Must Shape Our Own Destiny

[Kaurin] In your opinion, what is most likely to endanger the concept of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation?

[Ganic] There has been no progress (although the Federation Constitution provides for it) regarding the establishment of local authorities in the south of the federation, nor regarding the return of refugees to those areas.

[Kaurin] Could you tell us about your visit to the free areas, especially those in Herzegovina?

[Ganic] The situation is fine in many areas of the federation, especially those renowned for offering resistance to the chetniks. People are shaping their own destinies and welcome whatever help they can get from the authorities, from the top. The situation in Herzegovina is very explosive.

[Kaurin] As the legitimate representative of the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Croatian Democratic Community maintains that the establishment of new Croatian municipalities is one of the prerequisites for forming the federation. Why is the SDA, as the legitimate representative of the Muslims, against those demands?

[Ganic] There are no problems with regard to the forming of new municipalities. The Federal Assembly must establish certain criteria in order to avoid anarchy. As far as I am concerned, every Croatian village, i.e. every village in which Croats live, can be a municipality of its own. However, does that enable development and progress?

[Kaurin] Would you comment on the fact that the media abroad often talk about Islamic radicalism with regard to the Bosniak Muslims?

[Ganic] These are custom-made articles designed to play down our success on the field of battle.

[Kaurin] Can we say that the SDA and the Islamic communities in Bosnia-Herzegovina live in a kind of political symbiosis, as some media say?

[Ganic] The Islamic community is a religious community and the SDA is a political party. There is no symbiosis. We each have our programs. The SDA neither can nor will influence religious communities. We must not mix religion and politics. The first is something holy; the second, an everyday matter.

Against Religious Schools

[Kaurin] What do you think about teaching religion in high schools, the prohibition of alcohol, and banning the sale of pork?

[Ganic] On the one hand, it would be easier if I had studied philosophy and the history of religion in high school. Children must learn something about this. We must find a solution acceptable to all religious communities that would also be compatible with democratic systems in multicultural and multiethnic communities. But I do not think Catholic, Muslim, or Orthodox schools are a good solution. We must bring people together, not drive them apart. With regard to alcohol consumption, I think it would be good to prevent minors from buying alcohol with restrictions similar to those in the United States, and regulate consumption by means of high taxes. The same goes for cigarettes. As for pork, those who want it should be able to buy it. Anyway, that borders on petty politics.

[Kaurin] Is the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina in its final stages or is it escalating?

[Ganic] We are in the "second half," so to speak. It will be shorter than the first half.

[Kaurin] Do you believe the arms embargo against Bosnia-Herzegovina will be lifted? What do you know about this?

[Ganic] It is very uncertain and it all depends on the international community. If they want to have peace in the Balkans soon, they will lift the embargo. A balance of arms will lead to political agreement. We must convince the British and the Russians that a just peace in the Balkans would, in the long run, be in their best interests as well.

[Kaurin] The Federal Assembly is scheduled to meet on 7 November. Can we expect that it will pave the way for a positive trend in relations between the Bosniaks and the Croats, thus also in overcoming problems regarding the implementation of the Washington Agreements?

[Ganic] Of course.

[Kaurin] You founded the first Institute for Special Purpose [arms] Production in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Does the institute find time to help the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army during the war?

[Ganic] The Institute for Special Purpose Production, which I founded, is working at full speed and there have been no significant personnel changes. We are working on implementing our main projects. Some products of the institute are already being used on the battlefield and the chetniks have felt that. Our own production and the development of the special purpose industry provides us with lasting support.

[Box, p 7]

Strategic Turning Point

[Kaurin] Could you comment on the latest successes of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army? Does it present a strategic turning-point in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

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[Ganic] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is getting stronger every day. With regard to tactical options, we have had some good results, but the success of strategic operations depends largely on heavy artillery, which is in short supply. The strategic turning point is coming slowly. The Bosniaks are in a "one-way street," so that we can only move forward. The chetniks are in a "two-way street"; when they get "bored," they can go back across the Drina.

Federation President Zubak Addresses Assembly

AU0811184794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 8 Nov 94

[Address by Kresimir Zubak, president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federal Assembly in Sarajevo—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed deputies, ladies and gentlemen, Presidency, and guests: Perhaps there is something too ambitious about this address, which I will call an expose according to the first item on the agenda, but—at the request of a number of deputies from political parties that are participating in the assembly—I have compiled information on the course so far of the implementation of the Washington Agreement, that is, the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. I have to stress that this assessment, the proposals for measures and activities that have to be undertaken, are my own, which means that they are subject to both criticism and debate. However, they are—and these are my intentions—meant to improve the situation, and to throw light on all the problems that face the implementation of the federation.

I would also like to say that, in my work so far as president of the federation, I have had satisfactory cooperation with Mr. Ganic as the vice president of the federation, and that all the decisions that we have made, we have made together. However, this address is my own view of the situation, even though this does not mean that it has been based on my observations alone. It has also been based on some information, knowledge, assessments, and conclusions coming from a number of deputies or officials in the federation bodies.

As is known, the Constituent Assembly of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina on 30 March 1994 adopted the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which—according to Paragraph 1 of the constitution—envisages that the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina should reform its internal territorial structure with the majority Croatian and Bosniak Muslim populations in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina into the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina consists of federal units that have the powers determined by the constitution. The division of power between the federal and the cantonal authorities is clearly determined. The federation is obliged to ensure the implementation of the highest internationally recognized rights and freedoms, and all the bodies of the federal authorities will implement and respect the rights and freedoms envisaged by international documents. All the refugees and displaced people have the right to return to their own homes freely.

Apart from the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Vienna Agreement is also important for the functioning of the constitution of the federation, the agreement that was signed by the authorized representatives of the Croatian and the Bosniak Muslim people. This agreement envisages that the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina should comprise 58 percent of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, that its first president should be a Croat, from the ranks of the Croatian people, while the prime minister should be from the Bosniak Muslim people, and that the federation should consist of eight cantons—two with the majority Croatian population, four with the majority Bosniak Muslim population, and two with authorities organized on the parity basis. The government will have 17 ministers, six of which are to be Croats.

It is important to stress that this agreement removed certain vague and imprecise details in the constitutional arrangements, particularly concerning the formation of the cantons, which are the basis for the establishment of authority in accordance with the constitution. Therefore all the premises were created for the implementation of the federation constitution, and the organization of the entire power structure in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

On 30 May 1994 the constituent assembly elected the president and the vice president of the federation, and the federal government was appointed on 23 June. The government was appointed in accordance with the principles and criteria agreed under the Vienna Agreement. In accordance with his authority, the federation president has nominated the judges of the constitutional court, and the procedure regarding the appointment of the first ombudsmen has almost been completed.

According to Article 3, Chapter 9 of the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the obligation of communal authorities has been regulated to form immediately upon the enforcement of the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina the transitional communal bodies of authority in accordance with the constitution, and to form within 30 days the transitional bodies of authority in the cantons.

Since the activities concerning the organization of communal and cantonal authorities were very much delayed, the president and the vice president of the federation—who hold the executive power in the federation, and who are therefore responsible for the implementation of the constitution—drafted the plan of activities for the implementation of the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This plan determined those responsible for the activities as follows:

—First, the federal coordination committee;

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—Second, the cantonal coordination committees;

—Third, the communal coordination committees;

—Fourth, the federal expert team.

The task of these committees was to initiate, coordinate, and monitor the activities concerning the implementation of the constitution of the federation, to coordinate and to harmonize the views of the representatives of political parties involved in the process of the formation of communal and cantonal bodies of authority, to speed up the preparations for the formation of legislative bodies of the cantons, the adoption of cantonal constitutions, and the election of the remaining transitional cantonal bodies, that is, the cooperation with the relevant communal bodies in charge of the formation of the transitional communal bodies.

The formation of these coordination committees, and particularly the federal expert team, has been justified in practice since they have been offering help and thus removing certain unclear details concerning the implementation of the constitutional regulations. By giving instructions, they have greatly contributed to the implementation of the procedure of the formation of the communal and constitutional bodies of authority. During the procedure of forming the communal and cantonal bodies of authority, the existing bodies—the communal assemblies and other bodies—were obliged to undertake concrete measures and activities, meaning, to organize political agreements among the representatives of the constituent peoples, to activate the communal and electoral commissions, and commissions to deal with the mandates and immunity during the procedure of determining valid mandates, and verifying mandates of deputies, and to adopt the communal statutes, the cantonal constitutions, and so on.

In accordance with the Vienna Agreement, the territory of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina comprises the territory of 74 communes according to the previous political-territorial division. As we know, all the communes were obliged—in accordance with the constitution of the federation and within 30 days upon its enforcement—to form the bodies of authority, and delegate five deputies each to the legislative body of the canton. Since this deadline turned out to be unrealistic, the Zagreb Agreement extended it to 30 September 1994, but—as we have seen—this deadline, too, was not met.

According to the information available to the federal expert team, by the beginning of November transitional communal bodies were elected in 42 communes, these bodies being the communal councils and the communal heads. The canton with its center in Tuzla has been constituted, and—according to unconfirmed information—the formation of the canton in Bihac is in its final phase.

During the formation of the canton with its center in Tuzla—according to the caucus of the deputies of the united opposition—certain irregularities were spotted. Therefore, on orders of the federation president, and at the request of the united opposition, two members of the federal expert team carried out a [word indistinct] investigation into documents that relate to the formation of this canton, and had interviews with the representatives of the cantonal authorities and the caucus members. The talks and the documents revealed irregularities that concern the verification of the mandates of deputies in some communes, and irregularities concerning the functions of the deputies in the cantonal assembly in relation to other functions. However, according to the federal expert team, these irregularities did not have a major impact on the legal aspect of the formation of the cantonal bodies, but should be removed in the coming period. According to the information available to us, some irregularities also appeared during the formation of some communal bodies of authority, which also warrants investigation.

According to the findings of the federal expert team, in the process of setting up cantonal and municipal organs of authority in the transitional period in line with the constitution of the federation, many problems that are beyond our control occurred. The problems that were most frequently present were: combat activities, that is, the occupation of some territories of the federation; the lack of timely political agreements among the representatives of the constituent peoples; the nonexistent electoral lists of candidates; the lawful completion of the mandate of a large number of deputies as well as (?absence) of deputies from the municipalities; the incomplete teams of municipal electoral commissions and the mandate-immunity commissions, which is why the mandates of deputies cannot be verified; the issue of the incompatibility of those who hold municipal and cantonal posts; the lack of experts in the existing municipal organs who could make a contribution to the faster establishment, above all, of the municipal and then cantonal organs of authority; different interpretations of the constitution concerning the methods of setting up municipal and cantonal assemblies.

The lack of experts has to a great extent been compensated for by the federal expert team, which, during its existence and work, has established contacts with the representatives of all municipalities that are part of the federation. For instance, the team has sent a large number of written answers to the questions that came from 30 municipalities, drafted instructions for the municipal organs on how to set up transitional municipal organs, in accordance with the constitution of the federation, and numerous other examples concerning statutory decisions and cantonal constitution.

All this, and the fact that the coordination bodies at the cantonal level have held numerous meetings and discussions with regard to the organization of authority, confirm the total justification of the measures taken by the president and vice president of the federation, something that was opposed by some members of the authorities. In fact, the effects in setting up the organs of the

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authorities would probably have been considerably smaller had these commissions not been set up.

In this period, the foreign policy of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation has had as its prime objective the promotion of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation in the spirit of the Washington and Vienna Agreements. In this context, the top representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation are unanimous that the federation is an irreplaceable form of preserving and promoting the two people's interests.

Regarding the solution to the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis, the representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation have been striving for a peaceful solution to the crisis through political negotiations. The war and liberation of the territory from the aggressor have been envisaged as an alternative, that is, as a necessity and the legitimate right if those who today represent the Serbian people do not accept peace as an option. In this context, efforts have been made to have the embargo on the federation lifted.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation has expressed and confirmed its cooperativeness and consistency during numerous negotiations with the countries who are members of the Contact Group that is charged by the international community to find a way to peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as in bilateral and other talks at the international level.

This was the case on 13 May 1994, when the foreign ministers of the United Nations, Russia, and five countries of the European Union demanded the warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina to establish a four-month cease-fire and the return to negotiations in two weeks. This was the case on 25-27 May 1994 in (Talloirre), this was the case on 4 June 1994 in Geneva, when the negotiations on the general cease-fire in Bosnia-Herzegovina were canceled because the Serbian armed forces did not withdraw from the exclusion zones at the request of Yasushi Akashi, special envoy of the UN secretary general.

The representatives of the Contact Group held talks with the representatives of the three peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Serbian leadership demonstrated a total lack of cooperativeness and rejected all proposals regarding the territorial divisions and constitutional arrangements. On 7 June 1994, we held a meeting with UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali in Geneva. We advocated a peaceful solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina on that occasion once again.

At one of these meetings in Geneva, we accepted a halt in hostilities that lasted four weeks, as agreed, and which should have been extended every month. In this sense, we held several rounds of talks and negotiations with the representatives of the international community, that is the United Nations. In this context, on 9 June a document was drafted on that. You were informed about that.

On 4 July 1994, we held a meeting in Geneva with the Contact Group at the level of experts concerning the realization of the peace package for Bosnia-Herzegovina. We accepted, that is, we expressed readiness to abandon the idea of the division of the territory on the principle of 58 percent, as agreed in Vienna, and to accept the 51-49 percent division. We made a promise to U.S. Secretary of State Mr. Warren Christopher on 5 July 1994 with regard to this.

On the same day, that is, on the days that followed, we signed the document on handing Mostar to the European Union administration. On 6 July 1994 in Geneva, the representatives of the Contact Group presented us maps as part of the package on the peace arrangement for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The meeting in Brijuni on 17 July 1994 also served the purpose of promoting the Federation and a peaceful settlement of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. There, the representatives of the Federation and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina held a meeting with the representatives of Turkey and the Republic of Croatia. On 20 July, in the Russian Embassy, they also conveyed their official stand, after this assembly approved of it, that we accept the peace package. On 5 September, we held talks in Sarajevo with the representative of the United States, Mr. Richard Hallbrook, assistant secretary of state for European Affairs. We again expressed our stand and our views regarding the lifting of the embargo.

On 13 and 14 September, we held meetings in Zagreb, which were also aimed at strengthening the Federation. On 18 September, Mr. Ganic, as vice president of the Federation, and I held a meeting with 33 members of the European Union, at which we expressed our view that the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina can and should be resolved in a peaceful way and with political means.

In this sphere, however, we do not have a clearly profiled and defined foreign policy strategy. Regarding systematic and planned activities to affirm and protect the interests of Bosnia-Herzegovina and our peoples, we are making decisions case by case. When it comes to the representation of the Federation, it often happened that the decisions on sending delegations to international and bilateral meetings and talks were not made by the president and the vice president of the Federation, nor even the Government of the Federation at its sessions, nor are the platforms for attendance of such talks and negotiations defined in terms of the basis on which these talks and negotiations should be held.

In this period, the Constituent Assembly held four sessions. On 30 March, as has already been stated, the Constitution was adopted. On 31 May, the provisional rules of procedure were adopted, the president and the vice presidents of the Federation were elected, and the laws on the [word indistinct] and the official paper of the Federation were adopted. On 23 June 1994, the Constituent Assembly promulgated constitutional amendments, confirmed the appointment of the government, and passed laws on the ministries and other state organs of

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the Federation, as well as the seal. At its session on 18 July, it endorsed the peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Although it is inappropriate for the president of the Federation to assesses the work of the Constituent Assembly, one cannot but stress the fact, which is also being stressed by its deputies, that the assembly sessions are held rarely and that invitations and documents for the sessions are not received in time. In this way, the participation of the deputies in the Constituent Assembly and in the determination of and decisions on policy in the federation are marginalized. In fact, this is a problem of organization and work methodology. This is also confirmed by the fact that we still do not have the rules of procedure for the work of the Constituent Assembly.

As stated, the Government of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation was appointed on 23 June 1994. Since the appointment of the Government of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, there have been 16 sessions, which discussed the problems of the jurisdiction and powers of the government.

Today, we will hear for the first time a report on the work of the federation government. However, regardless of that, and in the interest of the truth and improvements in the situation, one must assess its work so far.

The results of the government's work are not satisfactory. This is best illustrated by the fact that the government has not yet adopted its rules of procedures, it has not determined the spheres of work of the ministers without portfolio, it has not defined the relationship between and the powers of the ministers and deputy ministers, the Constitutional Assembly and the president and vice president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation have not been forwarded the programs on the work of the government, not a single report on the work of the government has been sent out, especially on the results in the first 100 days of its work, and the ministries and expert services of the government have not been reorganized in the sense of appropriate national representation of the Croat and other nations.

Therefore, we are talking about the elementary issues of the methods and organization of work. The problem of undefined relationship between the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation is felt to be present among a certain number of ministers, and in the government itself. This is one of the reasons or circumstances that affect the effectiveness of the government's work. So, the problems that affect the method and the scope in the government's work stem from this.

In connection with this, one should say that much work has been done. However, it is the regulations of lesser importance that are being proposed and adopted, or those regulations that cannot take effect before more fundamental regulations in certain spheres are adopted. For instance, regulations in the sphere of finance are adopted and proposed to the assembly, and yet these cannot be applied until a law on the central bank or the unit of account have been adopted. Or, we are adopting regulations to regulate revenues, when we do not know at all what our expenditure is going to be. The system of authority that should be implementing these regulations lies in the basis of this. However, we still have no law on cantonal or federal units, which represent the basis for developing the complete system of authority.

Therefore, because of that, because of the insufficient organization and the planned work, the prime tasks are not known, no synchronized work is being conducted in different spheres. Today, we have a situation that we cannot assess positively, despite the given circumstances. Apart from the Law on the Government, we have not adopted a single systemic law. We do not know at all whether the economy is recovering, and to what extent, whether the infrastructure and living conditions are improving. In other words, if this were the case, whether this was the result of the work of the municipal organs of authority or the organized and planned work of the government, that is, its economic policy, the policy of renewal, reconstruction and so forth.

As far as military cooperation is concerned, you all know that a military agreement was reached in Split between Bosnia-Herzegovina Army General Rasim Delic and HVO [Croatian Defense Council] General Ante Roso on 12 March 1994. In short, the agreement stipulates the forming of a federal army, organized on the principle of merging the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO, that would answer to the federal leadership—the federation president and vice president—through the defense minister; second, the forming of a joint command comprised of representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO in the process of transformation into a federal army; third, regular meetings of the highest commanding officers of the Bosnia- Herzegovina Army and the HVO; the forming of a joint headquarters based in Sarajevo for the transitional period, direct and permanent contact with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces], the organization of military zones under joint headquarters, the operative monitoring of all Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and HVO duties in all military fields. Furthermore, officers appointed to the joint headquarters need to be acceptable to both sides.

Much has been accomplished from the time of the signing of the military agreement up until the present. We have assessments to the effect that we cooperate much better on military matters than in the implementation of the federation constitution in the other parts and segments [sentence as heard]. The joint headquarters officially commenced work on 15 May 1994 in Sarajevo, and is headed by Generals Ante Roso and Fikret Muslimovic. Officers have been appointed to the joint headquarters, and it has generally carried out and continues to carry out its duties, while the remaining stipulations of the agreement, particularly regarding the establishment of a joint command, have still not been fully completed.

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Within the framework of cooperation and joint action of the HVO units and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, we need to stress the continuity in cooperation in specific areas, for example, Usora, Posavina, Brcko, Bihac; the participation of the HVO in the [words indistinct] in certain areas of joint action. Moreover, we need to stress the regular and unimpaired logistic and every other support [word indistinct], and passage over the territory under the control of either side, the separation of warring sides, and the fact that we have not had a single serious incident that would call into question the future cooperation between the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. For me, this is the most significant and best indication that not only the officers and troops in these units, but also the people have an interest in enabling the implementation of our agreements, the ones we call the Washington Agreements. Finally, the example of cooperation and coordinated action in the Kupres area, when the strategy of attack and the facilities to be liberated by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO were (?precisely) defined. The latest military activities give us the right to claim that by joining militarily, our armed forces will realize political goals that cannot be realized through peaceful, political means.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the crucial problem present in implementing the federation is the lack of comprehension of the constitutional and legal position of the federation, (?particularly) regarding the setting up of the federal bodies of authority in the interim period, and—in our assessment—the inaccurate interpretation of the constitutional provisions pertaining to the bodies of authority of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the interim period. I will now expound on my personal assessment and legal interpretation, despite the fact that you all know that when it comes to the legal interpretation of relations between the federation and republic, we take different views and have different interpretations; I will now expound on my personal view, which is generally supported by the representatives and officials of the Croatian people in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. We start with the premise that the constitution is a state's highest legal regulation, and that the provisions in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation Constitution define all of the federation's characteristics as a decentralized state, beginning with the coat of arms, the flag, the hymn, the monetary unit, the joint military forces, the bodies of authority, and, finally, the territory. It is clear from the federation constitution that the federation has its [words indistinct]. The Constituent Assembly [words indistinct] federation authorities in the interim period, while the president and vice president of the federation and the government [words indistinct]. [Words indistinct] for passing laws that will [word indistinct] every (?aspect of authority) in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. It is a notorious fact that [word indistinct] of the state organization must have an interim period, during which new (?bodies) of authority will be elected. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Constitution clearly specifies the period and the ways of implementing its provisions, and clearly states to what extent the current bodies of authority of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina retain their authority in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Article 11 in Chapter IX of the Federation Constitution states that the Presidency and Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina retain their authority in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina until a final peace agreement is reached and implemented, providing that they do not influence any [words indistinct] state bodies of authority established by the Constitution. I stress once more that the extent, jurisdiction, and temporal existence of the Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina are defined by the Constitution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, which states that the bodies of authority of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot interfere with the jurisdiction of the bodies of authority of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. This constitutional and legal (?provision), which is very clear and leaves no room for doubts and dilemmas, needs to be the starting point for interpreting the ways of implementing the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation Constitution in the interim period. [Words indistinct] regarding the implementation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation Constitution in relation to the Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The overlapping of functions and jurisdiction of the state bodies of the federation and the republic in carrying out their duties in the interim period is a normal occurrence, however, the clear goal is to fully establish the bodies of authority in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, that is, in its federal units, in accordance with the federation constitution.

The original rights of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, stipulated by the Federation Constitution, inevitably lead to the termination, that is, the curtailing of the authority of the bodies of authority of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina on the territory of the federation. This does not negate the territorial integrity and the status of an international legal entity of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, nor does it negate the right of the bodies of authority of the republic to function until the final peace agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina is reached. By resolving this legal and political dilemma, which is a persistent bone of contention between us, we shall take a decisive step toward restoring mutual trust and establishing bodies of authority in accordance with the Washington Agreements. The institutions of authority of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina were established on the basis of an updated version of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, based on the declarative definition of the equality and constitutive quality of all three peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It does not recognize the institutions or mechanisms that have the function of protecting national interests, it is based on the principle that one individual equals one vote, which includes the possibility of outvoting and the existence of a majority. All protection boiled down to the famous

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proportional representation, therefore, it was contingent on the will of the political factors, rather than on legal norms stipulating how authority should be established, and therefore, how it should function. Because of this, and because we wish to send a positive signal to the Serbian people, we need to build the federation and grant the federation's bodies of authority all the rights, duties, and authority that belong to them in accordance with the constitution. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation Constitution guarantees the highest degree of protection of human rights and liberties. Owing to our objective circumstances, it is precisely the struggle for human rights in Bosnia-Herzegovina that are the foundation stone of establishing new relations between peoples. In this sense, there are two ways of implementing the peoples' nation-building rights in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which can be defined through national equality and liberty, and civic equality. Both sides—I mean our people, the Croatian, and the Bosniak Muslim people—can testify to the brutal violation of human rights and liberties in the period from 1992 to 1994. Because of this, precisely because of this, we need to strongly support the idea that peace is achievable only through freedom and truth, that is, the truth is a prerequisite for freedom, and freedom is the prerequisite for peace. If we respect these principles, both our peoples, and the citizens of our homeland will be able to count on a better future.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the results achieved so far in all segments of implementing the federation, give us the right—despite everything—to claim that we are still on the right road to reestablishing mutual trust; the restoration of life and work, the restoration of freedom, and the establishment of total equality. The fact that we were unable to establish a comprehensive system of authority in the specified time period, is the result of the tragic mistrust that grew out of our conflicts. However, it is possible to overcome all this through the consistent implementation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation Constitution, which guarantees national equality and possesses the instruments and mechanisms for protecting equality. The Federation Constitution contains the highest standards of human rights and liberties and, because of all this, we need to transcend the constitutional solutions of the former, only partially modified, communist system as soon as possible. If we do this as soon as possible, and if we do it in a consistent and principled way, the chances for the reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina are that much greater.

The latest liberation operations of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO units have given us fresh reason for more mutual trust, and have confirmed the possibility and need for a joint liberation movement. By building and establishing the federation and handing over authority to the federation's bodies of authority, we will not destroy the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina remains a territorial entity and an international legal entity. The consistent interpretation and implementation of the constitution actually gives the Serbian people the best signal, and thus diminishes the chances of those who wish to destroy Bosnia-Herzegovina. These are the postulates that should guide all the bodies of authority in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation in carrying out their duties. However, in this sense, the government has the most responsible and primary duty. For it to be able to cope with these tasks, it must first be fully organized in accordance with the constitution, it must precisely define its methods and organization of work, and it must concentrate on passing regulations in those fields over which the federation has jurisdiction, and create the normative, organizational, cadre, and material conditions for establishing all of the bodies of authority. Only then will it be possible to implement the agreed and defined policy and the legal regulations that contain it, and thus enable results in restoring life and work. Moreover, at least in this war and interim period, the synchronized and coordinated activity of the government, the Constituent Assembly, the president and vice president of the federation, and political parties in all spheres of influence—military, internal and foreign policy spheres—is crucial. All forms of political voluntarism, unconstitutional and illegal activity, and the disregarding, neglect, repression, and blocking of the realization of all vital national and human rights must be energetically prevented. Only in this way—legally and through negotiations—can we restore mutual trust and count on a better future. Thank you.

Session Ends; Laws Passed

AU0911133794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 9 Nov 94

[Report by Senada Cumurovic from the session of the constituent assembly of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation]

[FBIS Translated Text] A couple of minutes ago, the constituent assembly of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly ended. During its two-day session, the assembly discussed a report by Federation's President Kresimir Zubak, accepted a report about the work of government led by Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, and then passed numerous draft laws.

During the two days, 37 agenda items were discussed, of which 12 today in a debate that started at approximately 1030 [0930 GMT] this morning. Draft laws were passed following debates. I will single out some of them that I have already mentioned earlier. Perhaps the most significant are the draft Law on Changes of Municipal Boundaries, draft Law on Displaced Persons and Refugees, and draft Law on Amnesty. Then there are proposals—a proposal to undertake changes to the Constitution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, a proposal to appoint judges of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Constitutional Court, who were also sworn in at the constituent assembly session, a proposal to form a commission for the coat of arms and flag of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation.

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In this short report we also mention a proposal of guidelines about diplomatic and consular missions, which was submitted by Federation President Kresimir Zubak, who said that the aim of this initiative, which he had forwarded to the deputies—it was decided that no debate will be held on it today—(?was not to criticize the work of the Foreign Ministry and [word indistinct] of the diplomatic and consular missions, but to safeguard full observation of the constitutional provisions until the constitutional norms to improve the work. It was proposed that president of the federation and the prime ministers be charged to organize a general debate about this issue and by next session of the constitutional assembly propose some guidelines.

Let me also say that the next session of the constituent session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation is called for 30 November.

Zubak Discusses Kupres, Croat-Muslim Ties

LD0411233494 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 4 Nov 94

[Interview with Kresimir Zubak, president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by correspondent Tihomir Ladisic; Zubak in TV studio in Siroki Brijeg, Bosnia-Herzegovina; correspondent in HTV studio in Zagreb, Croatia; from the "Picture Vs Picture" program—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Ladisic] Our guest this evening is Kresimir Zubak, president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Good evening Mr. Zubak.

[Zubak] Good evening.

[Ladisic] First, I would like to ask you to tell us about the current situation on the Kupres battlefield.

[Zubak] The current situation is as follows: Yesterday, as you know, we liberated Kupres and then in the evening we started advancing toward the northwestern parts of Kupres municipality, i.e. to the village of Osmanlije. Today we completed our task by stopping our advance in the village of Zlosela, which is also in the northwestern part of Kupres municipality. And there we established our positions.

Fighting was in progress along the northern positions between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and formations of the so-called Serb Army.

We presume that further operations will proceed along the following lines: We will again advance northwest, while the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army will advance north. Our goal is well-known: We wish to liberate the entire territory of the municipality of Kupres.

[Ladisic] Does that mean, Mr. Zubak, that HVO [Croatian Defense Council] and Bosnia-Herzegovina Army actions have been halted tactically, for the time being, but that, strategically, the entire action has not been stopped?—if I understood correctly.

[Zubak] They have not been halted. They are just of lesser intensity than yesterday and the day before. That is normal, because actions of this nature cannot last continuously for more than two to three days. A certain respite, regrouping, is necessary. This is not a halt in military operations; it is just a brief slow-down, which will be followed by fresh combat actions. A counterattack by the so-called Serb Army is expected, we are prepared for this. It is difficult to foresee how and when this operation will end, but we believe that in the next couple of days the fighting around Kupres ought to be completed.

[Ladisic] You yourself have mentioned the possibility of a backlash by Bosnian Serb forces, who today proclaimed a general mobilization and a state of war. The question even world analysts are asking is whether we can now expect large-scale war operations.

[Zubak] It is very probable that these offensive combat actions by the Croatian Defense Council in coordination with units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army will expand and spread to other areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Ladisic] It seems that the only Serb reply at the moment is their media's insistence on generating discord in the alliance between the Croats and the Muslims. It is being claimed that the HVO is not allowing the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and civilians to enter Kupres, and that open hostilities have broken out between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO in Rama (Croat enclave in central Bosnia). Could you analyze this? Could you analyze the relations between the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army after these magnificent successes on the battlefield?

[Zubak] That is nothing but a propaganda ploy. During the operation of liberating Kupres, we had direct contacts with top-level Muslim officials on both the political and military planes. We had reached agreement, had agreed on how we would wind up this operation; and these plans were implemented exactly as they were agreed on. We defined directions in which HVO units would operate and directions in which the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army would act.

We had no disputes whatsoever. Everything proceeded as agreed and planned.

[Ladisic] Let us now leave the battlefield and concentrate on current political relations between the Croats and Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina. To what extent has the [Croat-Muslim] federation been strengthened by top-level meetings—for instance, the joint trip by prime ministers Valentic and Silajdzic and the talks in Zagreb. How much has been done on strengthening the federation in this respect, on the one hand; and why, on the other hand, has there been so little progress and so many problems in, for example, Mostar?

[Zubak] It is certain that this process of establishing the federation will take longer than we anticipated. This is

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perfectly normal. It is also certain that the results we are accomplishing on the battlefield and on the political plane—such as the joint visit to Malaysia by the federation prime minister and the Croatian prime minister—will certainly give a strong impetus to overcoming all disputed issues and establishing the federation.

[Ladisic] These successes, which have to be emphasized, as everybody has been speaking about them; these joint successes by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and HVO, what will they mean in the diplomatic approach to Bosnia-Herzegovina? For instance, the contact group is meeting in Zagreb tomorrow. How realistic is the acceptance of the peace plan on offer, the contact group plan? And how likely is a military victory for the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Zubak] We said earlier that we are accepting the contact group plan. When I say we, I mean representatives of the Croat and the Bosniak Muslim nations. But we also said that if the Bosnian Serb representatives fail to accept such an option, then we have the right to take all other measures that are necessary for us to achieve our political, and all other, goals. This also involves combat actions with a view to liberation. I think that the latest successes that we achieved together, and also successes that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army formations have achieved, will have an impact on our political position, and they will also have some impact on the behavior and position of the Serb representatives.

[Ladisic] You are going to Sarajevo to attend the session of the Assembly of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. What are the concrete strategic stands that you are going to defend on behalf of the Croat people at that assembly session in Sarajevo? Do you expect certain important issues to be tackled there that may further deepen and strengthen these relations, make them even more efficient? What stands, intentions, negotiating positions, are you taking to Sarajevo?

[Zubak] These are no longer negotiating positions. Now we are going to coordinate our stands relating to the interpretation and implementation of the federation's Constitution. Without any doubt, there are different interpretations of certain constitutional provisions, and different views on how they should be put into practice.

Some of these issues have already been resolved in political contacts and agreements. I expect the forthcoming assembly session to be yet another phase in the setting up of the federation. Among other things, I think we are going to reach agreements on the reorganization of our diplomatic and consular missions; that we will assess our activities thus far as regards the implementation of the federation's Constitution and present the problems—problems both of a political nature and other natures—in implementing the federation's Constitution; and I also expect us to adopt a number of regulations in connection with the judiciary that are very important for building the judicial system of the federation.

I think that in Sarajevo we will make a new step toward the final setting up of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation.

[Ladisic] Mr. Zubak, thank you for the interview.

Croats Criticize Muslim Reporting on Kupres

LD0911141794 Mostar Croatian Radio Herceg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with the liberation of Croatian Kupres from Serb occupation and the coverage by both Serb and Muslim media of the event, our editor Ivan Krizic prepared the following commentary:

[Krizic] The planning and execution of Operation Cincar—the codename for the action to liberate Kupres—clearly demonstrated that the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] has been transformed into a respectable military force. This is borne out not just by the secrecy which shrouded the preparations for the operation but also by the factor of surprise in the effective penetration of Serb defense lines, by advances from several directions, the capture of Serb soldiers, and the seizure of weapons and military hardware. HVO units liberated the strategically important Kupres plateau, the city of Kupres itself, and all nearby localities with minimum losses and in a very short period of time. By all military criteria, this was a brilliant victory.

Meanwhile, as expected, the Serb media, in order to justify and minimize their defeat, resorted to spreading misinformation and shallow fabrications, for instance, that NATO planes were allegedly used to guide HVO artillery fire. The treatment of the liberation of Kupres by the media of our political partners, the Muslims, is simply incomprehensible. The emergence of Muslim units at Kupres Pass was loudly trumpeted while at the same time the Croatian effort in liberating over 650 square km of Kupres Municipality went almost unreported. There have been no congratulatory messages and at the same time, with an intolerable ease at deceiving the public, the HVO victory has been attributed to the 7th Corps of the Muslim army. This is an unusual way of interpreting partnership.

Since in propaganda matters the Muslims are merely bad students of the Serbs, their manipulation of the events surrounding the liberation of Kupres should not cause any great concern among Croatian defenders. HVO fighters are well aware of what they fought for, of what they did, and the importance of their victory cannot be minimized by someone's decision to ignore it. What is most important is that Croatian Kupres is free, that Croatian flags are flying there, that the Croats of Kupres will be able to return to their homes. And those who have no military victories to speak of have no other choice but to invent them.

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UN: Serbs Redeploying Forces on Western Fronts

AU0911160394 Paris AFP in English 1545 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Nov 9 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces are on the move from east to western Bosnia where they are counter-attacking, according to reports here Wednesday [8 November].

A UN military spokesman said large numbers of Serb troops were seen heading west through the [Bosanska] Posavina corridor, a narrow strip of land in the far north of the country which links both halves of Serb-held Bosnia. [passage omitted]

Gourmelon said government forces had also started trading artillery fire with secessionist Croatian Serbs across the international border.

Fighting also raged in the north of the country, along the Posavina corridor and further west, north of Gradacac where government forces gained a little ground.

East of Doboj, Serbs were also counter-attacking after an initial two to three kilometer advance by Moslem-led forces, Lt.-Col. Tim Spicer, another UN spokesman, said here.

On the central fronts, government forces appeared to have reduced a Serb salient which projected into their lines southeast of Vares, while near Bugojno they have adopted a defensive configuration.

Bosnian troops were also heading north from Vitez, Spicer said.

There was also heavy firing around the Moslem-held enclave of Gorazde in the east of the country, while government forces continued to close in on a Serb-held trunk road near Trnovo, just to the west of the enclave.

3d Corps Takes 100 Square Km on Teslic Front

AU0911204494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Nov 94

[Report by the Press Center of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 3rd Corps]

[FBIS Translated Text] The successes from the south are coming thick and fast. During today the fighters of the 7th Muslim Glorious Hill Brigade repulsed four attacks by the chetniks, and this afternoon surged forward. Without suffering any losses they astonishingly quickly liberated Kosovljak and Tresnjeva Kosa. The fighters of the 330th Infantry Brigade and 319th Hill Brigade came after them and ascended to Velja, Gradina, and Sisana Kosa. Not even the concrete trenches and Russian mercenaries could halt their advance.

The fighting morale has been magnificent. As an illustration, while touring the liberated territory, we asked for Rifet Koprdza, a saboteur from the 7th Muslim Brigade, as we wanted him to say something into the microphone. When he arrived, breathless from the rush, he was disappointed with our request, since he thought that he was being sent on a new mission. Another example: Nazir Becirevic, commander of the Green Berets, when asked whether there were any wounded, said that there had been no time for that.

We have to stress the particularly significant success of the 7th Muslim Glorious Brigade. According to its deputy commander, Colonel Halil Brdina, it alone liberated over 70 square km of territory. It also seized such a large number of military vehicles and other equipment that it is being jokingly named a motorized brigade by the other units. All this without any casualties, and only a few wounded. Truly impressive!

All in all, the fighters of the Operation Group North have in the latest fighting toward Teslic liberated over 100 square km. The fighting continues as we report, and the free territory is expanding.

Serbs: Muslims Face Defeat on Bihac-Krupa Front

LD0911153194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1511 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Petrovac, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—The Muslim army is about to suffer total defeat on the Bihac-[Bosanska] Krupa front, Serb military sources in Petrovac claim today.

The sources say that the Srpska republic army [VRS] forces "with great courage and resolve...are advancing unstoppably along the entire 60 km front line." On the southeast part of the Bihac-Krupa front, units of the VRS 2d Krajina Corps have been in control of Tihotina and Hrgar since last night, the Serb military sources say.

The Muslim forces were defeated on the Dubovsko-Gorjevac road where several hundred soldiers, abandoned by their fellow-soldiers and the command of the Muslim Army's 5th Corps, are completely encircled.

The Muslims are also in a critical situation near Ostruznica and Krupa on the Una [River], the scenes of fierce fighting since this morning. VRS units succeeded in returning part of the Serb territory on the right bank of the Una which Muslim units seized about 10 days ago.

UN Protection Forces reports say that near Krupa on the Una, VRS units pushed back the Muslim forces by 4 km toward the Grabez plateau. VRS units are also advancing from the direction of Veliki Radic and Mali Radic and it is now a question of hours until the entire Grmusa-Grabez plateau south of Bihac is recaptured, Serb military sources say.

Fighting was also reported this morning on the Kupres plateau where Croat forces amassed about 100 vehicles with military equipment and manpower overnight, indicating fresh attacks on the Srpska republic's western borders, Serb military sources said.

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Muslim-Croat Attack on Kupres Reportedly Halted

LD0911232594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2145 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 9 (TANJUG)—A ranking Bosnian Serb army official has said Bosnian Serbs on Wednesday checked a joint Muslim-Croat offensive near the central Bosnian town of Kupres.

The Bosnian Serb News Agency SRNA quoted Assistant Commander of the Bosnian Serb Army General Staff Gen. Milan Gvero as announcing that further Bosnian Serb military operations were aimed at completely crushing the offensive.

Gen. Gvero said that in the past few days the Bosnian Serb army had managed to regain "a large part of the temporarily occupied territory" on the front around the northwestern Bosnian town of Bihac.

Muslim forces launched a fierce offensive from the United Nations-designated "safe area" of Bihac a fortnight ago and seized about 200 square kilometers of the Bosnian Serb territory.

At the same time, joint Bosnian Muslim and Croat forces reinforced by two brigades of the neighboring Croatia's regular army captured Kupres.

A U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees spokesman has said about 11,500 Serb civilians, mostly women, children and the elderly have fled Bihac and another 2,500 have fled Kupres before the onslaught of the Muslim and the Croat forces.

Bosnian General on Serb Offensive Against Bihac

LD0911230694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In connection with the latest chetnik offensive against Bihac, we will broadcast a statement by General Atif Dudakovic, the commander of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

[Begin Dudakovic recording] For 10 days now Serb paramilitary formations from Bosnia and the Republic of Croatia have been engaged in a large-scale offensive against Bihac in order to retaliate for the exceptional successes achieved by our army and to punish our army and the people of the Bihac District. However, we have been witnessing and suffering such retaliation for two and a half years, so what is happening now is nothing new. Today we see the impotence of the chetnik army [words indistinct] long-range artillery and air force to bomb our town. But, [words indistinct], regardless of material damage and casualties, the retaliation and the use of these weapons—which are not legal, especially when used against a UN protected zone—have not caused any considerable damage to our district or our army.

The (?main) reason for the enemy to have launched the offensive [words indistinct]. We can rest assured and should know that this enemy offensive will have the same fate as all the others they launched against this area. [passage omitted]

I would like to draw everyone's attention to the seriousness of the situation. We must not allow ourselves to be overcome by euphoria, we must not get carried away in the mood of celebration. I will repeat what I said four days ago: Everyone must know their place in the unit because everyone has his or her place in the unit. [passage indistinct]

Today we saw one of the most intensive attacks by Serb paramilitary formations from the territory of the Republic of Croatia, from Miljevac-Skocaj, and Licko Petrovo Selo-[name indistinct]. I can only stress that not a single inch of our territory has fallen into the enemy's hands, and they themselves know best how they fared.

I would like to congratulate once again all HVO [Croatian Defense Council] elements and members of the Army who repelled this attack, as well as those who immediately reported and took part in the defense of our district. [end recording]

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Krajina Leader Wants 'Asymmetric' Status

AU1011113494 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 4 Nov 94 pp 20, 21

[Interview with Milorad Pupovac, former chairman of the Serbian Democratic Forum, by Zorica Stanivukovic; place and date not given: "Asymmetric Krajina"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"I understand the Croatian negotiators who say that any state within the state is out of the question, because people usually assume this to be something abnormal, a defeat or loss. The price of constituting a state and one's interest in it is much greater than some ideological projections. Therefore at this point a pragmatic solution is being sought, satisfactory for the majority of citizens living in that state, that is, the majority of Serbs and the majority of Croats," Milorad Pupovac, until recently chairman of the Serbian Democratic Forum and professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb, says in an interview with NIN.*

His views on the possible settlement of relations between the Serbs and the Croats, as well as between their mother countries, is again in the focus of the attention of the Croatian public. Thus it is being maintained in general terms that the political assessments and ideas held by Pupovac are unacceptable for Croatia. In addition, his assessments are believed to have considerably influenced what the local political circles assume to be the plan of a mini-Contact Group for Croatia.

[Stanivukovic] Is a Croatian-Serbian agreement really in sight, and is the political climate in Croatia favorable for any sort of state consensus?

[Pupovac] I think that the preconditions for a Croatian-Serbian agreement today, in late 1994, are incomparably better than they were two years ago, or at the beginning of democratic changes. Both the Croats and the Serbs have become more mature in their ability to estimate realistically the possibilities for the accomplishment of their national rights and states. In addition, the international community has become more realistic in its approach, while more complex in its composition.

[Stanivukovic] When you talked about the latter in your public statements, usually corroborating it with the example of Serbs in Croatia, you frequently interceded for the so-called Scandinavian model, which was also mentioned by President Tudjman. In Croatia, however, one can hear more frequently about possible solutions based on the 1974 Constitution, particularly regarding the Serbian autonomy. It is being proposed in connection with the ultimate status of Kosovo and Vojvodina. Also, the principle of reciprocity is being mentioned.

[Pupovac] The 1974 Constitution was passed by undemocratically elected representatives of the former communist regime. It was passed by a minority, without any possibility of checking it out anywhere, based on no will of the people whatsoever, and enforced in the entire former Yugoslavia. Nobody who supports any democratic constitution can say that such a constitution should be our paradigm. It is remarkable how people are trying to represent the 1974 Constitution as a cause for the disintegration of Yugoslavia, while at the same time all the former Yugoslav peoples—Slovenes, Croats, Muslims, ethnic Albanians, Macedonians—are entitled to use the legacy of the communist rule, whereas Serbs are supposed to be denounced as communists. The absurdity of such an attitude was supported for a certain time by the international community. What people fail to recognize today is that, by changing that constitution (which generated unconstitutional situations on a daily basis), the Serbs and Serbia contributed to breaking that vicious circle of communist solutions in former Yugoslavia. Sooner or later the importance of democratic changes in Serbia in terms of their contribution to overcoming the communist constitution and regime will be recognized. Therefore, no inspiration is to be found in that constitution, nor should it be sought in it.

As for the principle of reciprocity, it is the worst thing that may happen in regulating human and national rights. People are not aware that the principle ultimately means that, if somebody kills a Croat in Vojvodina, then somebody else is automatically empowered to kill a Serb in Croatia. National rights cannot be regulated according to the principle "if you Serbs in Croatia get a certain degree of statehood, then the same thing is to be given to ethnic Hungarians, ethnic Albanians, or Muslims in Serbia." This can only add fuel to the fire and prolong the war. Actually, the aforementioned minorities in former Yugoslavia must be given guarantees for their rights, but through mechanisms of mutual negotiations, rather than following the principle of direct reciprocity.

[Stanivukovic] But could the Scandinavian model of the arrangement of mutual relations take root in this region? It is still a war zone.

[Pupovac] Do not forget that the relations among those peoples, although settled by an agreement, have never been flawless either. The Scandinavian countries also had wars among themselves, they had also been under foreign domination, or inhibited by various prejudices and barriers as remnants of those war times. But those peoples eventually did find a form of mutual cooperation. At the regional level they realized that differences among them were not so great as to suppress the issues of security, economy, and communication because of some stereotypes, war experiences, or prejudices. After all, the question of human and minority rights will certainly demand a well-defined contractual relationship between Croatia and Serbia. Or, for instance, the question of security. I guess that neither Croatia nor Yugoslavia will establish states armed to the teeth at the price of famine among their people again. They will work out a sort of mini military cooperation, the way of harmonizing mutual security interests.

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Finally, one ought to know that President Tudjman is not the only one who spoke about the Scandinavian model. Former Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic often spoke about it as well.

[Stanivukovic] The Croatian geo-politicians claim that the model of relations between Sweden and Finland in the example of the Oland Islands cannot be applied to Krajina, because it is extremely strategically important for Croatia.

[Pupovac] The Oland Islands are interesting for several reasons. First, there is the principle of their neutrality and demilitarized territory. Just imagine Krajina, where after 500 years it is finally made possible for its people to live the life of civilians! Just imagine such a situation, in which people can finally give up their time to themselves, rather than to the defense of the region. Furthermore, the Oland Islands have a transnational autonomy, and are also a member of the European Union. Their internal system is also very interesting. You can see that in their citizens' passports, which are Finnish, rather than some particular passports of the Oland Islands. Besides, those islands are extremely important for the security of Finland, because navigation between the Scandinavian and the Baltic states goes via these islands.

I tell you all this not because I want to say that the circumstances there are the same as in Krajina, but rather to let all of us know to what extent autonomy can be developed. I think that Krajina's being a federal unit with asymmetric status within Croatia is the most realistic option for defining the position of Krajina and its status.

[Stanivukovic] Is this a long-term political solution of mutual relations between the two peoples, who, when speaking of Krajina, have been laden with extremely large emotional and even irrational tensions?

[Pupovac] I hear very often such arguments in public discussions here. For instance, that the federalization of Croatia would mean its disintegration. My argument is very simple, though. With regard to the current situation, a stable federal system would mean stable relations within the state. What we have now is instability and destabilization. Not to mention the third possibility, the status of Krajina in the 1870's. The military frontier [Krajina] was at that time under the control of the Supreme Military Council in Vienna, that is, in Graz, and it was in no way subject to the constitutional-legal order of Croatia.

For that reason one should avoid an unsatisfactory status quo, or any transitional solution for which it is not known how long it will last. Therefore my proposal regarding Krajina with the status of asymmetric federal unit is simply something that is realistic. Besides, it also springs from the spirit of Serbian-Croatian relations in the last 150 years. At that time the Serbs in Croatia had the status of a non-constituent people, whereas Croatia was constituted as a sort of community of the majority and the minority people, being something between condominium and federation. Actually, so it was all until 1990. This is no radicalism, because concessions are great on both sides. But the result will also be great for both sides, if we are wise enough. We fulfill preconditions to organize the state according to the model of modern federations, like Belgium, for instance.

[Stanivukovic] Is that the direction in which the proposals made by the Contact Group to Croatia are going?

[Pupovac] The Contact Group is actually preparing us for all kinds of negotiable concessions and compromises. As far as I know, it changes quite frequently the contents of its proposals, trying to balance between the reactions coming from the two sides. But the main principles are such as I told you about. The Serbs in Croatia are a sovereign people, with autonomous political will. They are given an opportunity to constitute Croatia together with Croats, to take part in the division of authority, and to participate proportionally in the representative bodies of the administration. In the regions where they make up a majority they may organize their own sovereign administration that is in harmony with the central administration in those issues that are of mutual interest.

[Stanivukovic] But the Croatian side is rejecting any possibility of negotiating about a state within the state.

[Pupovac] If we refer to the federal system, then we can say that the administration is divided into the central administration and that of the federal units. The elements of statehood of the central administration are transferred to the federal units by agreement, and vice versa. Therefore, one has to speak about the elements of Krajina statehood. On the other hand, if we refer to the parliament, executive authorities, or demilitarization, we certainly have in mind certain elements of internal statehood, which also includes certain forms of international license, because of inevitable contracts that will be concluded among Croatia, Serbia, and the international community regarding the future of Krajina.

[Stanivukovic] Recently you took part in the Conference on the New Future of the Balkans, which was held in Sofia, Bulgaria. What are your impressions?

[Pupovac] The Balkans are extremely important, as much for Europe as for the Near East and Central Asian countries, as well as for the United States, because in the Balkans one can take a sample of relations among political agglomerations that exist in the world. That is the reason why the United States is so present in the Balkans. Although the representatives of Yugoslavia were not at the conference, Yugoslavia was still referred to in a much different way than before. It was not referred to as a potentially destructive element in the Balkans, but rather as an important element of cooperation. The NATO representative, Mr. Gerhard von Moltke, said that for the stability in the Balkans it was important to include Serbia in the Balkan cooperation and European processes.

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[Stanivukovic] At the moment the political life of Croatia is quite tense, while at the same time the moment of mutual recognition between the Republic of Croatia and the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] is expected with growing seriousness. Is this the reflection of the obvious pressure applied by the international community, or of difficulties in getting used to the fact that some agreement with Serbia will come about soon?

[Pupovac] I think that the mistake that was made in 1991 and in 1992 ought not to be repeated. At the time it was insisted on the recognition of Croatia, without previously settling the relations between the Croats and Serbs in Croatia, that is, between Krajina and Croatia. This was made as one of the conditions, so the Constitutional Law was adopted, but without any real political agreement. That was a mistake, and all of us paid for its consequences in quite a tragic way. It must not be repeated, either in the mutual relations between Serbs and Croats, or in the regulation of those relations by the international community. Mutual recognition may come about only as an integral part of a Croatian-Serbian agreement.

Head of Supreme Court Views War Tribunal

AU0811123894 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 29 Oct 94 pp 10-11

[Interview with Milan Vukovic, president of the Croatian Supreme Court, by Darko Djuretek; place and date not given: "'We Handed the Documents to Goldstone'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In an interview for VECERNJI LIST, Mr. Milan Vukovic, president of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Croatia, who also carries out the duty of president of the Committee for War Crimes Committed at the Territory of the Republic of Croatia Since 1991, talked about the situation in the Croatian judiciary, and the activities of the International War Crimes Tribunal.

[Djuretek] What are your impressions of the United States, and what is your comment on what was achieved during your stay?

[Vukovic] I stayed there from 11 to 21 October. I had been invited by the United States Government. I was a guest at the Fourth National Conference for the Technological Development of Procedures in Administration and Justice, held in Nashville. Attending the conference was very useful, since the achievements in the use of information technology and electronics in the U.S. courts are outstanding. I think that we will soon start certain pilot programs in information technology and the judiciary in Croatia.

The other part of my stay was in Washington, where I had meetings and talks. The highlight was the official visit to the Supreme Court of the United States. I also had talks at the Helsinki Committee of the U.S. Congress, and I think that the Committee now has another picture of the scope of destruction in Croatia, of the dimension of Croatia as victim, of the dimension of the activities of the Croatian judiciary as far as the trials to war criminals are concerned.

The visit to the central Jewish agency was very successful, and I would also like to mention a lecture at the University of Virginia Faculty of Law, where I talked to the students and professors about law in present-day Croatia, and I gave a lecture on war crimes at the Croatian Embassy.

[Djuretek] In a recent discussion on human rights, particularly in the context of evictions, you said that the least objections in the issue were addressed to the judiciary. To what extent are the judicial authorities in Croatia independent and free from political pressures?

[Vukovic] In various meetings and talks one gets the impression that certain very usual things concerning the judiciary and the administrative authorities are put on a pedestal because of certain misunderstandings and conflicts. It is imputed that Croatia invented the term "eviction," that it inaugurated a practice that did not exist, or does not exist in other countries. Please understand that I am talking about the legal aspect of the various notions of eviction.

I agree that this war of aggression against Croatia has created thousands and thousands of various social problems, family tragedies. I believe that everything is being done in Croatia to overcome this in the least painful way, including all the misunderstandings and social tensions about the evictions. However, I cannot understand that, when the proceedings—whether court or administrative—are carried out, someone can ask, from the position of the rule of law, that the decision of the judiciary or administrative authority not be implemented. This kind of thinking implies that the rule of law would be better if the decisions of the court or the administrative authority were not carried out. On the contrary, if something has come into effect, the rule of law demands that it be carried out. The ruling in itself is useless unless it rehabilitates the breach of law that was the basis for the proceedings to be started.

[Djuretek] What about the administrative proceedings?

[Vukovic] Since in the area of housing problems the dominant role is carried out by the administrative authorities, then the administrative-legal procedure has a legal meaning just as the court proceedings do. The administrative-legal proceedings end with the ruling of the Administrative Court in 99 percent of the cases. If that aspect is fulfilled, then it is unnecessary to politicize, create tension in society, and deny the legal validity of such act from the legal point of view.

I am not a person who does not understand the social problems, but let us not tamper with the legal foundations of either the court or the administrative proceedings—let us rather think about and discuss the human dimension, the human tragedies that arise this way.

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It is precisely this fact that makes it impossible for anyone's politics to interfere and use the situation in Croatia, which is very difficult and contains many social problems, to say that there is no rule of law in Croatia.

[Djuretek] We thus return to the question of to what extent the judiciary in Croatia is independent.

[Vukovic] The independence of the judiciary in Croatia is guaranteed by the Constitution. I know that there is a rooted habit of viewing the court as an extended hand of the state. I am behind the independence of the judiciary authority with all my energy. I have been trying to tell the judges that we must get used to the new way of operating within the Croatian judiciary. You reporters have also been able to notice certain progress in certain procedures, which we can claim are the result of understanding the independence of the judiciary authority.

In order for Croatia to have such authority, the other two authorities on which the organization of the state authority in Croatia is based, which is the executive and legislative authorities, must work on it and understand it.

When a law is passed, as was recently the case with the Law on Government Employees, then the Assembly should also understand that the contents of the law should be analyzed. It should have not let the Law on Government Employees that also determines the salaries of judges to pass the parliament procedure! To put the judiciary authority back under the jurisdiction, or, if you will, to even mention the judiciary authority in this law, is a disaster! [sentence as published] The Croatian public has the right to doubt that this is interfering in the independence of the judiciary authority, whether some people like to admit it or not.

[Djuretek] Some outside "controllers" can also doubt, can they not?

[Vukovic] The international community controllers should absolutely point their finger at it and ask: What is this? On 20 September, before the voting procedure for this law started, I sent a letter to the Assembly chairman, to the president of the Chamber of Counties, the prime minister, and the minister, asking them to do everything to ensure that the position, dignity, and respect of the judiciary authority was reflected in their support of the judiciary authority in the Republic of Croatia being truly independent. Noone replied my letter. When I realized that the Assembly had voted the Law, although Minister Mlakar and others assured me the judges would be left out of the law, I organized a meeting of all the presidents of county courts on 6 October at the Supreme Court, and told them that we were in the situation in which we had to do everything to defend the independence of the judiciary authority, and that we should not allow interference of the executive authorities at any level.

[Djuretek] Thus also the interference in the rule of law?

[Vukovic] Naturally. I decided that this instance was the result of the inability of certain government employees to understand the new democratic organization of the independent judiciary. Moreover, I established that this judiciary was the basis of the democratic society in all the democratic countries, the guarantor of their existence, the framework through which it becomes involved in all the democratic trends in the world. Justice and law are the strongest limiting elements in any repressive power. We are witnesses to the attempt at treating the State Tribunal as an informal body rather than an important element of the formal independence of the judiciary authority in relation to the legislative and executive authority. The Law on Government Employees, which sanctions both the salaries of the judges and the way they are paid, clearly indicates that there is a danger of such concepts of independence of the judiciary authority spreading. Therefore, I decided to oppose this with a clear position of the Supreme Court. This is what I wrote.

[Djuretek] What is your assessment of the International Tribunal for the war crimes committed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia? Namely, the opinions here seem to range from great expectations to excessive suspiciousness.

[Vukovic] As you know, with Resolution 827/93 of 27 May 1993, the UN Security Council established the International Tribunal for trials of the perpetrators of war crimes on the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1 January 1991.

I recently received a letter from Mr. Richard Goldstone, the prosecutor, dated 10 October 1994, in which he thanks me for the cooperation and the talk we had, and, as he says, for the valuable advice and support we gave him during the talks at the Supreme Court on 4 October. The letterhead did not contain the title International Tribunal. It had been replaced by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia.

[Djuretek] What kind of game is that?

[Vukovic] I could not discuss what kind of game it is.

[Djuretek] Who is entitled to change this title?

[Vukovic] I could establish that such things should not happen, although the former title was not adequate either, considering what was happening here, as we know that the disintegration of Yugoslavia resulted in the emergence of new countries. We know what these countries are called. And we also know that the disintegration of Yugoslavia resulted in the aggression of Serbia, Montenegro, and the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] against Croatia, and, later, Bosnia-Herzegovina. We know that all the crimes committed in this war of aggression were committed first on the territory of Croatia, and then on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Therefore, there is no need to obscure anything.

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The fact is that the International Committee of Experts, and, now, the International Tribunal, and the international prosecutor's office, did not manage to conduct the exhumation and treatment of one of the largest mass graves identified at Ovcara near Vukovar.

[Djuretek] Could it be said that the Tribunal is an instrument of certain political dealings?

[Vukovic] I would not talk about political games here, but if the International Tribunal continues to have this attitude toward the essential problems that arose from this aggression, it will not fulfill the purpose for which Croatia did so much to have the Tribunal organized.

[Djuretek] Is it enough when some say that the operation of this Tribunal is at the same time the means of political pressure on Serbia?

[Vukovic] I would not like to discuss this political aspect. I can only say that if the International Tribunal continues with this practice of evading the crucial issues of the aggression of Serbia and Montenegro against Croatia and, later, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and against peace, it will not fulfill what was expected of it.

I wish that in a way it could be transformed into a permanent international tribunal that would conduct criminal proceedings against those who instigate war or provoke criminal activities against peace, against humanity, with small or large aggressions, small or great local wars.

[Djuretek] Croatia has told Mr. Goldstone that it was prepared to cooperate with the International Tribunal for War Crimes.

[Vukovic] Not only that—Croatia was one of the first countries to ask that the International Tribunal be established. Croatia was a country that offered all possible cooperation to the Tribunal. Croatia put all the documents at the disposal of the Tribunal, too, through the Commitee for War Crimes, and there are a lot of those.

I told prosecutor Goldstone that by 30 June this year we had sentenced 107 people for war crimes on the territory of Croatia.

[Djuretek] So, Croatia has already started trials?

[Vukovic] That is correct. Croatia has proceedings against 817 persons under way.

[Djuretek] You offered Mr. Goldstone the extradition of certain other accused even before it was announced that the first to stand accused was to be Dusan Tadic, did you not?

[Vukovic] That is correct. On 4 October this year I told Mr. Goldstone here at the Supreme Court that we had two classic examples of war criminals in our prisons. We have the commander of the river fleet that attacked and destroyed Vukovar and everything around Vukovar, and we have a man who will not admit to having killed a great number of people, though we have his confession of having committed about 165 murders, massacres.

We told him that we had not yet started the main hearing, though we had indictments against them, and that we believed we could hand them over to the International Tribunal, so that it can conduct the proceedings.

They were a little taken aback—they said they would think it over. Now that I see they will take Tadic, I am glad they will at least take him, so they can start doing something. What surprised me is that they did not take these two from the area of Vukovar, which symbolizes the entire aggression.

[Djuretek] This is another instance of Croatia showing that it is prepared to cooperate. However, Serbia has closed the door for Mr. Goldstone. When will the people who started the aggression against Croatia be tried, if at all?

[Vukovic] All of us who work in the complex of the war atrocities here understand that it is politics that will determine the mode of treatment of the International Tribunal. Whether the International Tribunal will get to the inspirers and initiators of the evil that has happened, we leave to the conscience and responsibility of those who make decisions on it.

It would be good if the truth finally came to light in international life, as it would free us of many frustrations brought upon us by the people who do not show determination in distinguishing truth from fraud, or lies from the noble efforts to clarify it. We will be satisfied if even some of the perpetrators, who also actually committed war crimes at the territory of Croatia, if even some of those whom we tried, be brought before the International Tribunal or called to account. It would be a great thing for the authority of the international community and this International Tribunal to at least establish criminal liability of the inspirers. Whether they will actually get hold of them is not important.

[Djuretek] Can the International Tribunal try those who are not present in court?

[Vukovic] The Rules of Procedure of the International Tribunal anticipated that there will be no trials in absentia. However, from what I could see in the talks with all the representatives, there is an intention or wish to do otherwise. To what extent and how it would look is not possible to say, but I think there is an intention to do something even in absentia.

[Djuretek] They can at least issue a subpoena.

[Vukovic] This is what I wanted to point out: whether it is possible to try them in absentia is not so important as it is to establish the criminal liability of certain people. These criminals would thus be identified, and, as we know, there is no limitation period for war crimes.

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[Box 1, p 10]

Judges Are Not Government Employees

[Djuretek] Is it in anyone's interests to interfere in the activities of the judiciary, and, if so, whose?

[Vukovic] We have to be clear about that. As president of the Supreme Court, I have so far not been aware of anyone trying to interfere with the work of the judges. However, I am aware of the fact that there is some misunderstanding of the notion of independence of the judiciary authority in setting the norms for certain legal regulations that should belong exclusively in the domain of the judiciary authority. For instance, the salaries of judges cannot be part of any laws that regulate the salaries of government employees. They have to be the result of understanding the independence of the judiciary authority; they must be contained in a separate law, or, as the Supreme Court proposed, they should have been contained in the Law on the Courts. This is where the systematic way of paying the judges should have been included. I have no evidence of a presiding judge or judge pointing out to me that someone had been ordering them to do something in practice. I think that the judiciary is completely independent there. However, to put the judge in any kind of dependence, be it even the way of regulating his salary, is an unacceptable constitutional and legal position!

[Box 2, p 11]

The Prosecutor Is a Man of Action

[Djuretek] The first trials at the International Tribunal have been announced to take place early next year. In simple terms, how do you see this trial—as an endless trial, or as something much more efficient?

[Vukovic] I have read prosecutor Goldstone's biography, and it was very reassuring. He is a man of action. If I were to believe that this trial will be endless, I would be denying my optimistic approach to life. I believe that the International Tribunal will operate well, if it starts to operate. If I were to lose faith in this, I would lose sense of work here too. On our side, following Mr. Goldstone's statement that the International Tribunal will not be able to conduct thousands of proceedings, we will continue our work as before. We will try all the perpetrators of war crimes. I know that the figure of 107 sentenced war criminals has risen to 122 within these two months, that there are indictments, hearings set, and proceedings underway, for 56 perpetrators of war crimes in Osijek, for 58 in Bjelovar, and 26 in Zadar. I will inform the International Tribunal of all these proceedings and ask them to attend if they want.

[Box 3, p 11]

The Invitation to Foreign Judges

[Djuretek] You have invited international judges to come and attend the hearings in Croatia, but under certain conditions. Is that correct?

[Vukovic] I told prosecutor Goldstone and his associates that we will make it possible for all their experts—judges or prosecutors—to attend these criminal proceedings and see how we inspect the documents we secured on the spot, in the most difficult war circumstances. I made it possible for them to get complete documentation in the courts in Osijek, Karlovac, Sisak. I gave them the names of the persons who were sentenced, and the opportunity to participate in everything, but I also told them: there is only one thing we cannot provide; we cannot leave the independence of the Croatian judiciary with you. The Croatian judge will always be dominant. He must conduct the trial, and you can take part in it.

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Crvenkovski Meets Saudi Religious Affairs Minister

LD0911185694 Riyadh SPA in Arabic 1640 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 9 Nov—Macedonian Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski today received his excellency Shaykh 'Abdallah Bin-'Abd-al-Muhsin al-Turki, minister of Islamic affairs, endowment, call, and guidance, and the delegation accompanying him.

During the meeting, the Macedonian prime minister welcomed the visit by Dr. al-Turki and the accompanying delegation and expressed the hope that it will be the first step toward further meetings between the officials of the two countries and toward further cooperation in various fields. [passage omitted]

Prospects for cooperation between the two countries and issues of common interests were reviewed during the meeting, particularly the problems of Bosnia-Herzegovina and of Muslim refugees in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia].

Prospects 'Bleak' for Rising Numbers of Unemployed

LD0811133594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1204 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—It was announced in Skopje today that, out of 70,000 workers in the metal, power, and mining industries in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], almost one-third have not been paid for two months, while some are still waiting for their April salaries to be paid.

Workers in the metal industry face a particularly difficult situation. According to the latest trade union reports, six new firms employing more than 2,500 workers are facing bankruptcy, while a similar fate is awaiting nine more firms with approximately 12,000 people.

Large enterprises are in no better a position. Their poor business performance is the Macedonian Government's special concern. The government program for the transformation of the biggest lossmakers will affect 17,000 workers, who have already been proclaimed redundant. Hopes that the government will offer them a new job are bleak. It has been learned unofficially that around $12 million,on which an agreement with the World Bank has yet to be reached, is necessary for this.

There a[illegible]ost 184,000 unemployed in the FYROM and approximately 70,000 workers in firms awaiting receivership, and their number is constantly on the increase. The overall number of employed persons is 450,000.

Illegal Border Crossings Around Struga Noted

AU0911182494 Skopje MIC in English 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Over 100 Albanian citizens are illegally coming into Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] every day, in the region of the Macedonian-Albanian border near Struga, in search of earning. No one can tell the exact number of illegal crossing from Albania, MAKPRESS reports. In most cases, they are coming for basic existence, working the most difficult physical jobs for only 10 German marks per day.

In the meantime, the business with illegally smuggled Albanian livestock, calves and cows, is flourishing at the Struga livestock fair, which is filling the pockets of the Struga businessmen.

Tetovo Assembly Supports Opening of Albanian University

AU0911214694 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 5 Nov 94 p 4

[Report by I. Stojkovska: "Support for the Initiative for an Albanian University"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tetovo, 4 Nov—A session of the Tetovo assembly was held today at which, among other things, an initiative to found an Albanian-language university in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] was discussed—in spite of the fact that assembly Vice Chairman Dragce Kuzmanovski insisted on removing this issue from the agenda because it did not lie within the assembly's competence. In his introduction, Enver Bekiri, president of the commission for education, science, and culture, explained a treatise put forth by Albanian intellectuals, saying that this initiative was justified socially "because it is in the spirit of the rights of the citizenry as provided for by international conventions." The commission proposed that the assembly adopt a decision to found an Albanian-language university in Macedonia.

Let us recall that the treatise was related to the founding of a Faculty of Philology and Philosophy, a Faculty of Natural Sciences, a Faculty of Economy and Law, and a Faculty of Islamic Studies, as well as of Fine Arts. Milovan Stomatovski was the first to take the floor, and he said he was speaking on behalf of the Macedonian members of parliament who did not participate in the part of the session dealing with this agenda issue. He warned that if the assembly members continued discussing such grand and official issues that do not fall within the purview of commune members and the communal parliament, they would provoke an interethnic dispute in the town; that is why he suggested removing this issue from the agenda and sending it back to the national bodies for a possible review. Stomatovski also said that if they insisted on political support, such support should be obtained from political parties and not from the parliament. Stomatovski then left the parliament hall.

Nearly all the participants in the discussion had identical views and welcomed the initiative with great joy. The only differences lay in the proposals: Some insisted that

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the assembly adopt a decision on the founding of the Albanian-language university, while others, less numerous, said that the initiative should only be endorsed, since to make such decisions does not lie within their competency. Some of the members said: "Just as a decision on the founding of the university in Bitola was adopted, we too, in league with the communal assemblies in Gostivar and Debar, should adopt a decision on the founding of an Albanian-language university." They also said that the situation of Albanian students had largely deteriorated following the closing of Pristina University, and Albanian students are now forced to continue their education in other countries and towns—in Sofia, for example. Two conclusions were adopted, on this issue: The assembly of the commune of Tetovo supports the initiative to found an Albanian-language in Macedonia; the president of the commission for education, science, and culture was authorized to finalize activities with a view to founding an Albanian-language university together with parallel commissions in Gostivar and Debar, as well as with Albanian parliamentarians and provisional boards.

After several months of discussion, the commision's proposal for nominating and electing the secretary of the assembly was adopted almost unanimously at today's session, and Avdi Murtezani of the NDP [People's Democratic Party] was elected. His position was, heretofore, that of a member of the parliament.

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Minister Stresses Importance of New Defense Law

AU0811154994 Ljubljana SLOVENSKA VOJSKA No 70 in Slovene 25 Oct 94 p 3

[Commentary by Slovene Defense Minister Jelko Kacin: "On the Way to the Defense Law (in its Second Reading)"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It has been three and a half years since the Republic of Slovenia, one of the republics of the Yugoslav federation, in its parliament of the time, passed two very important laws. The Law on Defense and Rescue and the Law on Military Service facilitated the protection and defense of the process of the Slovene state's gaining independence with its own means of defense and its own army. At that time, I was still deputy defense minister, and the passing of both laws was the basic precondition for the realization of an agreement on my transfer to the Ministry of Information. Both laws were extremely important, and the discussions in all three parliamentary chambers [number as heard], especially in the Chamber of Communes and the Chamber of Associated Labor, were heated. Through mutual substantiated explanations, however, we managed to coordinate amendments, pass both laws, and create the preconditions for independence.

Today, in October 1994, Slovenia is no longer merely one of the republics, but an independent, internationally recognized, and economically successful country. The Territorial Defense is no longer one of the territorial defenses of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army but the sole armed force of the Slovene state.

The Republican Territorial Defense Headquarters is no longer one of the republican headquarters but our only central military headquarters—the general staff, so to speak. However, as the Defense Minister, I cannot use terms such as the Slovene Army or the General Staff, because there is no legal basis for it. We therefore need a new defense law and, although we are the ones who need it, our partners abroad will welcome it, too. Asked why, I reply with numerous reasons:

Many things have changed over the past few years here—and for the better, too. For further changes, we need a different law that would be adjusted to the changes that have taken place so far.

The sphere of rescue, which is (was) regulated by the Law on Defense and Rescue, has already been excluded from the law. The State Chamber passed a law on rescue in cases of natural and other disasters, which covers this sphere systematically. Therefore, we presently have the Law on Defense and Rescue, which in reality only applies to the sphere of defense. Unfortunately, we did not manage to legally emancipate both spheres at the same time.

The renaming of the Territorial Defense as the Slovene Army and the Republican Territorial Defense Headquarters as the General Staff brings about profound contextual changes and allows for a different, more rational, (in repulsing an attack) more trustworthy, more effective, and more successful defense doctrine. These changes will allow us to outgrow the territorial confinement and force our commanding officers to confront each of their decisions with the interests, needs, deployment, and operations proceedings on the territory of the entire Slovene state. Sooner or later, our units, soldiers, noncommissioned officers, and officers will participate in joint military exercises abroad, and perhaps also at home.

Following the signing of the Partnership for Peace program, it is our duty to honor and regulate a number of (many) defense matters in accordance with the European and international standards and agreements that apply in NATO. When we speak of the European integrations and we are aware of the need to harmonize our system with comparable systems elsewhere in Europe, we must be aware that this also applies to defense. Without harmonization there is no joint defense.

We urgently need the Law on Defense to clearly regulate and define competences and responsibilities, and the authorities and supervision thereof. In the past, defense issues were too often politicized, precisely because the relations were not clearly defined. This also resounded negatively at home and abroad. The right to defense and territorial integrity are two of the fundamental rights contained in the UN Charter. With the UN Security Council embargo, these two rights are now limited and very greatly curtailed. For this reason too, we must create the conditions in which we would listen to each other very carefully in the State Chamber and compare political and expert arguments. Only in this way can we create an atmosphere in which we would jointly—and we should and can do it only jointly—prepare a law that would not be passed merely for one term of office but that would shape our defenses until the year 2000 and beyond.

We must study carefully the issues of the government's responsibility and parliamentary supervision, as well as the role of the president of the state. We need the possibility for intelligence work to satisfy the requirements of defense. At the same time, we must protect our state and its defense system—which are attracting great attention from foreign countries and their services because of everything that has happened since independence—with counterintelligence activity. We must not incapacitate our services but instead guide them and supervise them.

We need the law as quickly as possible. We would like to have it this year, so that after the New Year we can, within its framework, ensure uninterrupted work by the defense offices in the present municipalities that, after the local elections, will be taken over by the Defense Ministry. The defense law project is a joint project, a pan-Slovene project, and for this reason we expect a creative debate and state-forming decisions. I will be

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proud of the fact that the team of Defense Ministry experts that I lead has managed to study a multitude of amendments, reply to them with arguments, and also support some of them together with the government.

Prime Minister Ends Official Visit to Britain

AU1011095194 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2100 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovene Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek has ended a three-day official visit to Britain. Today, on his last day, he visited Scotland. In Edinburgh he visited an aircraft factory, met with the highest Scottish officials, and acquainted himself with the Overture program established by the European Union [EU] for cooperation among European regions and towns. Among the 11 central and east European countries included in this program is Slovenia.

Slovene delegation circles stress that the visit to Britain was a success. British politicians and businessmen praised Slovenia's economic achievements and offered their assistance in connection with our drawing closer to the EU and resolution of controversial issues with Italy.

British Foreign Minister Hurd intends to speak with Italian Foreign Minister Martino about this during Martino's visit to London next week.

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Federal

Federal Assembly Continues Confidence Vote Debate

AU0911143394 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 9 Nov 94

[Report by Svetlana Zivkovic from the Federal Assembly]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Good day. The debate on a vote of confidence in the Federal Government that started yesterday, continues today in the Federal Assembly's Chamber of Citizens. The motion was put forward by deputies of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS] in reaction to the blockade imposed on the Srpska republic. Let me remind you that Maja Gojkovic yesterday explained the radicals' demands. [passage omitted]

Several SRS deputies joined in the debate today and condemned the Federal Government's decision. Deputy Federal Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic participated in the debate, and said that it was not good to maintain the people's illusion that the solution to the crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina lies in the continuation of the war. Deputy Jugoslav Kostic stressed that when the Serbian people's survival is at stake, it is not prudent to indulge in emotional discussions. He stressed that the issue of the Serbian question was currently being solved for the next 1,000 years, and that certain unimportant, internal issues should not be insisted upon. Kontic insisted that this particular instance was not a case of a conflict between the citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] and the Srpska republic, but a conflict between the policy of the FRY and the Srpska republic leadership.

Deputy Milomir Minic answered some of the accusations of the SRS deputies pertaining to the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS]. Minic said that the Radicals had abused the democratic institution of the assembly chamber for their selfish party interests, and that they are taking an irresponsible stance towards topics that they themselves initiated. Once peace comes, you will disappear from the Serbian political scene and that is why war is your option, Minic told the Radicals and stressed that Serbia was ashamed of the Radicals' actions.

Prime Minister Kontic also took the floor in order to deny some of the allegations made by the SRS deputies pertaining to his trip to New York. Kontic said that it had not been a private trip, since he met with the highest-ranking UN officials with whom he discussed solutions to the Yugoslav crisis. That would be all from the Federal Assembly for the time being.

Debate Resumes

AU1011121294 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 10 Nov 94

[Report by Svetlana Zivkovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] Good day! Deputies of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] Assembly Chamber of Citizens have resumed the debate on the confidence vote in the Federal Government that started two days ago. The confidence vote in the government was sought by the deputies of the Serbian Radical Party because of the introduction of the blockade against the Srpska republic.

The hitherto debate on this issue, in which approximately 45 federal deputies have taken part, has demonstrated polarized views. The majority of deputies believe that the government decision was correct, rational, and in the spirit of the peace-loving policy that the Federal Government has pursued so far. An opinion also prevails that the Srpska republic leadership has made a mistake in rejecting the Contact Group peace plan, by which considerable results that the Serbian people in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina had accomplished in their just and defensive struggle so far, have been threatened.

The views of the deputies of the Serbian Radical Party, the National Party of Montenegro, and Depos [Democratic Movement for Serbia] are the opposite.

Today's debate continues in the same polarized atmosphere and is obstructed by the deputies of the Serbian Radical Party.

That is all for the time being from the Federal Assembly.

Jovanovic Defends Policy

AU1011124794 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 10 Nov 94

[Report by Svetlana Zivkovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] Several deputies of the Serbian Radical Party and Depos [Democratic Movement for Serbia] have taken part in the Federal Assembly no-confidence debate so far. They condemned the government decision to introduce a blockade of the Srpska republic.

Federal Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic also took part in the debate, replying to some of the objections raised by the deputies. He rebuffed claims that the Federal Government had no choice but to support the Contact Group peace plan. Choice existed, Jovanovic said, and it was the contents of an offer that guaranteed rights and the accomplishment of goals for which the Serbian people in Bosnia have fought for three years. We have advocated peace since the beginning, even before the outbreak of the Yugoslav crisis, Jovanovic said and recalled the Hague Conference at which Cutilheiro's peace plan was endorsed. After this, Jovanovic said, we supported all other peace plans because they all contained elements that protected the minimal and vital rights of the Serbs in Bosnia.

Replying to deputies' criticism, Jovanovic said: We have never ceased to provide support to our brothers in Bosnia in their right to self-determination and we do this

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at present, too. Regarding the Vance plan, Minister Jovanovic said that the people in the Srpska republic themselves had accepted it, because it protected them from war and granted them equality in the talks about their future with Croatia.

Regarding the return of the Serbs in the Croatian Constitution as a constituent people, Minister Jovanovic said: By calling on Croatia to include the Serbs in the Croatian Constitution we have not merely done something that would please the entire international community but have also strengthened the negotiating position of the Serbian people in Croatia and Krajina.

That is all from the Federal Assembly for now.

Kontic on Policy of B-H Serbs

AU0811213794 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 8 Nov 94

[Report by Vladimir Nikolic and Svetlana Zivkovic on the session of the Yugoslav Federal Assembly Chamber of Citizens in Belgrade on 8 November; including statements by FRY Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic, and Deputies Milomir Minic and Svetozar Marovic—passages within quotation marks are recorded,]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] This afternoon the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] Assembly Chamber of Citizens started a debate on a confidence vote in the Federal Government. This is the last item on the agenda of the first session of the second regular congress.

On the behalf of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], deputy Maja Gojkovic put forward the Radicals' demand to vote no confidence in the Federal Government because of the decision by the Federal Assembly to sever economic and political ties with the Srpska republic following their rejection of the Contact Group peace plan.

On the behalf of the Federal Government, Radoje Kontic used his right determined by the protocol to reply. We have reports by Vladimir Nikolic and Svetlana Zivkovic:

[Nikolic] At its 31 July session, the Federal Government took a positive attitude toward the Contact Group plan for the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. This was a logical continuation of a constructive and peaceful policy that the Federal Government has been conducting from the start of its mandate, FRY Prime Minister Radoje Kontic said. We do not think that the Contact Group plan, like the previous ones, is ideal, but nor is it unacceptable for the Serbs in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, nor does it question the essence of the vital interests of the Serbian people in the Srpska republic, Prime Minister Kontic said. In analyzing the Contact Group plan, the Federal Government kept the following in mind:

[Kontic] "First of all, in the circumstances while the global aims of the Serbs in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina were achievable, it was logical to give support to the Contact Group plan. The Federal Government believes that the responsibility for the real interests of one's own people should not make anyone hesitate when faced with the choice of new casualties and destruction, and a new exodus of the population, and the cessation of hostilities and the solving of all the disputed issues through political means and negotiations.

"Second, the proposed plan guarantees the Serb people half of the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina in a way that would not endanger the territorial continuity of the Srpska republic. It is important to say that the plan offered for the territorial division is not unchangeable. The option has been left open—following the acceptance of the plan—to agree on exchanges of territory, that is, the correction of the proposed maps in bilateral talks.

"Third, the draft constitutional arrangements gives the Srpska republic a status of a political entity with relevant powers in decisionmaking in all strategic issues. The draft also envisages the possibility of the Srpska republic forming confederal ties with the FRY under the same conditions as those given to the Muslim-Croat [Bosnia-Herzegovina] Federation to form confederal ties with the Republic of Croatia. Starting from the basis that no important decision could be made without the agreement of both the entities, the Federal Government concluded that there was no danger for the Serbian people in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina to be in any sense subordinated to the Croat-Muslim Federation.

"Fourth, under these circumstances the Federal Government is still convinced that peace should not have been rejected, and a new phase of suffering should not have been entered, and with that—what is more—new, even stricter sanctions should not be imposed not only on the FRY, but also on the Srpska republic. That would seriously endanger the results of the reconstruction of the monetary system of the country, and would also significantly slow down the recovery of our economy.

"Fifth, the acceptance of the peace plan would mean—instead of a new exodus of the population—a safe return of refugees to their homes, and the participation of the international financial institutions in the reconstruction of the war-devastated country.

"Sixth, by accepting the plan as the basis for the peace process, the Federal Government has kept in mind that the Contact Group was united behind the plan, and that it demonstrated a high level of decisiveness in its implementation."

[Nikolic] Based on this, Kontic said, one can conclude that the Contact Group plan enables the achievement of the global aims of the struggle of the Serbian people in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and lasting peace, and it was logical to accept the option that sanctions this. Unity was reached with the republics' governments on this

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approach, and the leadership of the Serbs in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina was informed about this.

[Kontic] "Unfortunately, the Contact Group plan was not accepted. The Federal Government assessed that the rejection of the Contact Group plan was an inexplicable act that brought into question the significant results achieved hitherto by the Serbian people in their just struggle for equality on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and at the same time endangered some vital interests of FRY citizens for no good reason. In order to prevent a deteriorating turn of events and the escalation of the war, we had to react energetically and without delay define the attitude of the FRY toward the leadership of the Serbs in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, who had rejected the Contact Group plan."

[Nikolic] The decision by the Federal Government is not and cannot be a sign of confrontation with the Serbian people in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, as can be seen from the fact that it does not apply to the humanitarian needs of that nation. It is rather the result of our efforts to prevent escalation of the war, and to warn of the devastating consequences of the rejection of the Contact Group peace plan. The Federal Government with its decision of 4 August has not endangered the vital national interests of the Serbian people, but has rather protected and defended them consistently with that decision. This consistent FRY policy has resulted in its affirmation on the international scene.

In his speech, Prime Minister Kontic also effectively quashed the accusations that the Federal Government had endangered its own aims, on the basis of which it had been elected in 1993.

FRY Prime Minister Kontic also said:

[Kontic] "The FRY has offered—and I spoke about this at a great length this morning—and will continue to offer full support to the Serb people in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina in the fulfillment of their legitimate aims. However, it will not support a policy that is beyond this framework, and is striving to satisfy individual and selfish interests. That is why it has supported peace and categorically opposed war, the continuation of which seriously endangers all the vital national interests."

[Nikolic] Any activity that is not aimed at ending the armed conflict and achieving a lasting peace is in contradiction with the interests of all the FRY citizens, and the entire Serbian nation, Kontic said. Thanks to that policy the process of lifting the sanctions against the FRY has already started. The Federal Government intends to continue conducting such a policy, Prime Minister Kontic stressed, adding:

[Kontic] "To conclude: The explanation given by the group of SRS deputies for the vote of no confidence is not acceptable for the Federal Government. On the contrary, the decision of 4 August 1994 was in the function of preserving strategic and vital interests of not only the FRY, but also of the Srpska republic. After all, this has been very convincingly shown by the events of the last two months."

[Zivkovic] FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic spoke after Prime Minister Kontic. Pointing out the conditions under which the government made this—as he said—the key decision in foreign policy, Jovanovic added:

[Jovanovic] "It is not possible to continue the endless war with the means that are constantly being drained, nor is it possible to win a war against everyone. This has never happened. It is also not possible because it endangers the results already achieved, and not only those achieved so far in the defensive war of the Serb people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also the overall position, stability, and existence of the entire Serbian nation."

[Zivkovic] Speaking of the Contact Group peace plan, Minister Jovanovic also said:

[Jovanovic] "We still believe that it is not too late to change that decision, since—without a common step into the future—our brothers in Bosnia-Herzegovina will not be able to lean on us, their most reliable partner in their struggle for the preservation of their legitimate rights."

[Zivkovic] Deputy Milomir Minic stressed that the previous period confirms the correctness of the Federal Government's decision.

[Minic] "The Federal Government conducts a policy and is responsible for it, and today—when it comes to peace and against the continuation of the war—the Governments of Serbia, Montenegro, and Yugoslavia work together. The Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] gives its full support to this policy of peace."

[Zivkovic] We have accepted the peace plan because we are deeply convinced that it serves the interests of the entire Serbian nation, the Srpska republic itself, and its citizens. The clear and principled policy of Serbia and Yugoslavia have confirmed them as the most important factor for the peaceful, just, and lasting solution to the Yugoslav crisis, as the factor of peace, stability, and cooperation in the Balkans.

[Minic] "This policy has today the most convincing support of the Serbian people, the citizens of Serbia and Yugoslavia. Serbia is for peace. Serbia is against hate and violence, against the suffering of nations. The citizens of Serbia are united in their commitment to this."

[Zivkovic] Stressing that the Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro supports the FRY Government, Deputy Svetozar Marovic said that the interests and the welfare of the people require the end to the tragic and unfortunate divisions, and easily flung accusations and insults, and that we should spare ourselves unrealistic

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state plans, policies that are guided by exclusiveness, and that all of us should try to live like other nations in peace and equality with others.

[Marovic] "Our people know what tragedy war brings, how much injustice and suffering are brought by the hardships of the innocent. Wars are not won by justice, but by the strongest party. War does not show who is right, but who is economically and militarily powerful. That is why we have to support peace and not war. Peace brings progress to the people, while war takes them to transgression. One cannot wage war against the world. The world cannot be militarily defeated. NATO cannot be defeated. Obstinacy is blind, while exclusiveness pushes people into a war without an end. This can be the path to suicide. If peace is not accepted today, tomorrow it will be harder to do so. The Contact Group plan can be on the table for a little while longer. The next plan will only be worse. What can still be done today might be impossible to do tomorrow."

Pale Should Reexamine Policy

AU0911204594 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 9 Nov 94

[Report by Sonja Djuric]

[FBIS Translated Text] The arguments of the deputies of the Serbian Radical Party who called for a no-confidence vote in the Federal Government can be reduced to the assertion that the vital interests of the Serbian people and the state of Yugoslavia have been endangered by the decision of 4 August, and that the Federal Government has abandoned the policies for which it was elected over a year ago. These arguments were countered with facts such as: The threat by the international community in case the peace plan is not accepted has never been more serious, and the envisaged punishment never more severe; the true hermetic sealing of the Yugoslav borders; and the spreading of the war in which the entire world would be the enemy.

For this reason Ratko Markovic described the move by the Federal Government as diplomatically sober and prudent, as a move that rehabilitates the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia before the world. Of course the Federal Government was aware that the peace plan was not perfect. However, it was also aware that only such a decision can convince the international community that Yugoslavia is making practical and not only declarative support to the establishment of peace on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The participants in the discussion more often used phrases such as a loss of honor and dignity than arguments that would rebut the Federal Government's moves. There were also some insults and personal attacks. The mention of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] and its, as stated, decisive role in political life, prompted, among others, Milomir Minic again to reply to the Radicals. You are abusing the democratic institute of parliamentary life, Minic said, and continued thus:

[Begin Minic recording] You here, at least as I understood your discussion, are placing everything within the narrowest party interests. Regarding the topics that you have initiated, your attitude is irresponsible and lacks seriousness. With the emergence of peace, you are in big trouble. Your obsessions are war, hatred, and chaos. With the emergence of peace, you are disappearing from the political scene of Serbia.

Regarding the peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina, you can read and interpret it, but cannot ignore that the plan meant the recognition of the Srpska republic on one half of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the international guarantee of its borders, confederal ties with Serbia and Yugoslavia, the end of the war, and the continuation of the peace negotiations.

I ask you, how many of the best Serbian sons must die for us to prove to the international community every hectare of land that belongs to us? Radicals, I must tell you, for you do not see, that Serbia is ashamed of your conduct. You are no longer backed by anyone; you are not longer followed. [end recording]

Many speakers stressed that the majority of citizens in our country do not consider the peace plan to be either just or ideal, but only forced, but they consider it to be a plan that takes reality into account.

The decision of the Federal Government was neither hasty nor emotional, but principled, Tomica Rajicevic said. The continuity has existed since the Cutilheiro and Vance-Owen plans. All subsequent moves indicate that the policy that has been conducted has been well planned and that its aim was to protect national interests, Minister Rajicevic said.

We should no longer accuse one another of favoring war or peace. It is much more important to say that the majority of people have had enough of the war, Deputy Kopilovic said. Only in peace and without euphoria can solutions be found to all the problems, ranging from village to state.

The Serbian people on the other side of the Drina have no greater enemy than their own leadership, which is in love with itself, Dragan Braunovic said. This is why the call for no confidence in the government has been sent to the wrong address. It should have been sent not to this, but to the government in Pale.

Taking part in the discussion, Federal Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said that it is still not too late for the leadership in the Srpska republic to reexamine its decision. A formula that is being offered through the Contact Group's plan is a formula for solving the crisis. Any further casualties are thus unnecessary.

Dragoljub Micunovic said that one should finally openly talk about the essential problem. If we are one people

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unbreakably tied to one fate but divided into several states, then one section cannot make decisions for the whole. However, if we were two states, then neither has the right to impose any obligations on the other. Which are we? We should discuss that. In any case, those advocating the idea that new concessions should be sought should draw up a bill of how much this would cost, Micunovic said.

As the discussion progressed, more and more deputies stressed the need for the Chamber of Citizens to take the stand that the Pale leadership should reexamine its decision.

Milomir Minic especially spoke about that tonight.

To judge from everything, the discussion in the Chamber of Citizens will continue tomorrow.

New Left Coalition Spokesman Interviewed

95BA0023A Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian 1-14 Oct 94 pp 11-13

[Interview with Slobodan Panov, M.A., spokesman of the Yugoslav United Left, by Biljana Sacic; place and date not given: "July Against a Stupid August"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Slobodan Panov, M.A., a 30-year-old, appeared on Yugoslavia's political scene this summer, in July, when 23 parties from Serbia and Montenegro formed the Yugoslav United Left (JUL) [JUL is the Serbian word for "July"] the brainchild of Dr. Mira Markovic. Panov was given the important role of the new left-wing coalition's spokesman.

He graduated from the law school and obtained his master's degree, he says, with distinction. As a student, he was a hippy, he did not attend high school graduation because he hated wearing a tie and was convinced that it was entirely out of keeping for a young man to dress that way. He describes his taste in music as cosmopolitan and patriotic. He likes Arsen Dedic for his style, the group "Demise" because its music is sonorous, and "Catherine the Great" because of its postmodernism. He says that in reality leftists were a part of the rock music ideology: "Where love is necessary, where there is sunshine...."

Today, Slobodan Panov, M.A., wears a tie and talks seriously about his political commitment:

[Panov] I feel a bit awkward talking about my political identity, because I think a man's political identity is not the loftiest or most interesting thing. Especially now when the politicians in fashion have ambitions to paint the entire world in one color, to explain both man and society with a single idea. I have no personal political ambitions, and my only ambition is that when I finish with politics I can enjoy Shakespeare's sentence about peaceful sleep being a privilege of the just.

[Sacic] And what does a young leftist usually like to talk about today?

[Panov] I would talk both about the offensive of the right and about the practice of leftists, who for a certain time have allowed those values to take the offensive. I would also talk about the inevitable rise of the left. To illustrate the indispensability of the values of the left, I will tell you that the trend in the world today is for capital to emancipate itself from the nation state. We leftists do not accept the offer of an alliance of the nation state and poverty. The values of the left, as I see it, are the distinction of a moral and spiritual aristocracy. That is why it is so very difficult to realize them in practice. Sartre nicely observed that man has an inherent desire for perfection, but God never gave him the tools to achieve that perfection. As a leftist, I do not consider that a reason for inactivity, but rather that is what makes it intellectually exciting and an adventure to try to realize those values, for every man to become a spiritual and moral aristocrat. That activism negates a nonsensical modern assertion of some American philosopher that history has reached an end point, that we have arrived at the pillars of Hercules [as published], the jumping-off place with no way out. There is no end of history, the left is continuing its struggle for the highest values and for freedom and justice.

How To Get Out of Utopia

[Sacic] Can the average man accept what the left is offering, can it win him over and turn him toward leftist values?

[Panov] I emphasize this theoretical value of leftist spirituality because there have been certain signs, certain appearances to the effect that the spirit of the left has come to an end. That is a mere appearance, forced to appear as reality, that the spirituality of the left has gone to the scrap heap of history once and for all. However, this is not just a thesis, as Ducic would say, "fabricated wholly from appearances." Put with exaggerated modesty, the left does not lag behind the values of the right. But as far as your question is concerned, I think that the measure of leftists' commitment is precisely to come closer and explain through practice, through improvement of every man's daily life, that that leftist substantiality is present in every man. The values of leftist spirituality are freedom and justice, for instance. When you say that in such lofty terms, it might appear like some fabrication from the salon, but in every man, in every specific social relation, there is a desire for freedom and justice, without extremism, a freedom that is expressed through social Darwinism (where only those who are most moral succeed, not those who are loudest, but those who are the strongest!). Dostoevsky rejected the ticket to paradise if it cost as much as the tear of a single child! In that sense, a justice which is imposed, which is not the result of free choice, can be harmful. The left's idea is for every man to be noble (in a spiritual sense), but at the sme time a worker (in a material sense), for his existence to depend exclusively on his work. The left is valuable for its sincerity, which is not sanctioned by the powerful (the father in the family, the boss, the

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ruler...). The left is in favor of risk (like 1968) and against routine and spiritual laziness. The left is also for patriotism (without defending domestic stupidity) and for cosmopolitanism, but without petit bourgeois glorification of the prevailing international values.

[Sacic] And so now, after this disquisition of yours, I must admit that all of this sounds a bit like utopia when you set it against the moment in which we live, a land of Arcadia, where everything is beautiful, cheerful, and wonderful. How can all of that become reality, everyday life? And when? How is leftism to be put into practice?

[Panov] The current situation today is characterized both by cheapness and by domination of the strong, by moral hypocrisy. We need a collective effort, especially a commitment by intellectuals who have the knowledge, and on the basis of their knowledge they can point out all those inhumanities in the transition of society. I believe that in that context, in the combined action of all the social forces, something can be done. My view is that it is worth more to do one good deed than to utter 1,000 beautifully stated words. The leftist can be recognized only by how much he represents in practice the values that belong to the catalogue of the left.

A Concept Woven From a Dream

[Sacic] Where is the left in the world, and where is the Yugoslav left vis-a-vis the world?

[Panov] I must answer that question from two points of departure. The first is the offensive of the right. The second is the reveille and awakening of the left. To put it in terms of a slogan: The right flourishes in darkness, and the left blooms in July (JUL)! How did the offensive of the right come about? Well, the leftist concept which was practiced had certain indubitable weaknesses: the rigidity of political action, the privileges of the ruling strata, bureaucracy.... Then the right attempted to cast all those values of the left, as I said, onto the scrap heap of history once and for all and to represent this as the demise of the left. Using the criterion of beauty, reality and dreams were being compared. In its propaganda, the right portrayed a bad reality, the practice of the leftist concept of society, and the right-wing concept of society was viewed as a harmonious intellectual fabrication of a salon. In doing that, it forgot the following inessential [as published] realities: the source of wealth, the "just" international economic order, the selective and greedy use of human rights to realize one's own interests, the overlooking of war crimes, racial disturbances, the marketing character of man (Fromm) in the sense that man's success depends on how well he advertises and sells himself. To paraphrase Pascal, man is in the world, and today he has become the thinking reed the market requires. Those are all the values that diminish man's humanity. That is only one side. However, how is it that the left has come awake? People felt dissatisfied in the society which favored those leftist values. Then entire peoples behaved like Voltaire's Candide, naively thinking that happiness could be obtained by just crossing the street. They started to tear down what was bad in society (quite justifiably), but also tore down what was good (why?) thanks to the "subtlety" of the destroyers, who had no ambition to link up the humanistic potential of the left-wing and right-wing concepts of society. They had no ambition to make a creative join of the freedom that was a bit more pronouncedly present in that European concept of society and the justice which was the ambition of the leftist concept of society. They felt dissatisfied in that destruction—the Iron Curtain did not become "a sunny cloak woven from dreams," as Ducic would say. Awakened by the ugliness of the dream—the loss of entitlements, the general decline of culture, the emergence of the mafia, its influence in society—they recalled the entitlements which that society had guaranteed. The experience and the lessons which the left has drawn from all this are certainly important to it: The original leftist concept of society did not collapse by accident, there are no accidents in life, the accident is only an event of unknown cause. The second lesson is that there is no turning the clock back! First, because it would be plagiarism to copy that earlier leftist practice, but also because of the dialectics, because return to the status quo ante is not possible. The task of the left, now that it has gained that experience, is a new creativity, a new conceptualization of the values that belong to leftist spirituality. Here, the motto would be that sentence of Goethe's: "Not going forward means going backward!"

[Sacic] Where would the Socialists go if the leftists should come along?

[Panov] Well, the difference between the JUL and the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] is not just in the name. The Socialists declare themselves to be a party of the left. Insofar as the SPS pursues the realization of leftist values, to that extent our positions will be close. The deed must be the proof of every word.

[Sacic] Are there other parties close to the JUL?

[Panov] We favor dialogue, that is, cultural and political tolerance, mindful of three aspects. First, because dialogue is necessary, because we are against spiritual autism. I have symbolically represented the desire of the JUL for cultural and political tolerance by referring to those who attended the Founding Convention as Sisters and Ladies, as Gentlemen and Comrades. I conceived the equivalence of gentility and comradeship as the gentility of the personality (its moral, cultural, and spiritual altitude) and comradeship as everyday human communication. My conception of the left is for the gentleman and the comrade to climb up to the level of man. Mika Antic said: "The most solid door is the one that is wide open!"

Vis-a-vis the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement], I would characterize the JUL as a moral and spiritual aristocracy, but without ambition to constitute itself as a nobility. Vis-a-vis the Citizens Alliance [GS], we favor the values of the independent citizenry, the values of a civil society,

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but we favor an autochthonous citizenry, an autochthonous civil society, not stimulated "from outside." Vis-a-vis the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], there is really disagreement both in the conceptualization of society and in the practice and civility of relations. If we see the need for a certain radicalism, we see it as the need to radically pursue the principle that man should be human, which is a universe away from the thinking and practice of the SRS.

The Followers of the Desire for Freedom

[Sacic] You share an office with Dr. Kosta Cavoski, who is president of the SLS [Social Liberal Party] and a sworn enemy of the ideas of communism, but also a fighter against caesars, at one time Tito, today Slobodan Milosevic. How do you two get along, and can politics be separated entirely from the job with which you are involved?

[Panov] I can say that relations with Professor Cavoski are quite proper. Cavoski is a wonderful professor, a superb intellectual. He has a free-thinking spirit that is not a posture and a brave moral constant, which he proved in the 1970's. By contrast with modern European intellectuals, Professor Cavoski is not a slave to the prevailing values, he is not a man oriented toward conformism. And our pronounced political disagreements have made our conversations more interesting, free of monotony.

[Sacic] How do you feel when, as the heirs of communism, you have to defend yourself against all the accusations of the present opposition? As a member of the JUL, do you accept some of the blame which is consigned to you today on the political scene?

[Panov] We are only the heirs of man's desire for freedom and justice. In a personal sense, we are less than anyone else the heirs of the former party in power, because champions of hypocrisy, heirs of the moral wasteland, former comrades, are today a majority in the other opposition parties. There have been plenty of insults coming from people who have undergone transformation and who like sunflowers have "spontaneously" turned toward the prevailing values, thinking all the while that justice is the rule or the law of the stronger. There have been a great many insults coming from people who were members of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia], and today are somewhere else. I follow the rules set down by Seneca that "the morally strong do not respond to insults."

[Sacic] Prof. Mira Markovic was a member of the SK-PJ [League of Communists—Movement for Yugoslavia], and today she is the one who has rallied the left. Can you say something about that?

[Panov] I can speak about Prof. Mira Markovic from several standpoints: as a person, as a scientist, and as a leftist. As a person, she has a sincere cordiality and an elevated simplicity which relieves you of your stage fright. I know that, because in our first conversation I had butterflies in my stomach. I can say of her as a scientist that she points up the importance of morality, which was proscribed in the time of the ideology of gain. I think that morality is the last defense of man and society in the face of evil, a fragile defense, but one that is omnipotent. I can say of Prof. Mira Markovic as a leftist that she has courage, that she is continuing on the paths of a splendid leftist intellectual representation in the aspiration for a society in which man will not be an "oppressed, scorned, and humiliated being." Her march toward those values of the left is enriched by the virtue of consistency, which is almost a rarity.

[Sacic] How did the unified leftist parties get the name JUL?

[Panov] It was a gathering of young people, among them Prof. Mira Markovic. And it was that youthful atmosphere that gave birth to the name JUL—as a symbol and association with the season when the sun shines the strongest. The JUL, then, has begun a splendid process which will make the political scene of Serbia both more logical and more beneficial for everyone. We have two or three Gypsy parties, we have youth parties, we have two women's democratic movements.... The potential of the Yugoslav left can be proven even in geographic terms. After all, we are bringing together the pastoral character of the Morava and the loftiness of Lovcen, the parties of Serbia and the parties of Montenegro. We will be like the sun in the search for a better life for man! We will have that beauty of natural indestructibility.

[Sacic] The opposition is divided into those parties that support the peaceful course of the leadership of the state in which they live and those who are on the side of the leadership of the Bosnian Serbs. What is your comment?

[Panov] We should not mark off an emotional distance from the sufferings of all the people in the former Bosnia and Herzegovina. You know, it is a noble ambition to be a man of worldwide empathy, with Dostoevsky's thought that the tear of even one child is really painful. The JUL is above all for an honorable peace for all the nationalities and all people. We were the first, in our Founding Convention, to support the peace plan, because it offers the basis for ending the horrors of war absolutely, and later to eliminate all those things which have been left unsaid and have not been agreed to through a peaceful dialogue.

[Sacic] Does the JUL have an ethnic program?

[Panov] First of all, it is nationalism that broke up Yugoslavia. The JUL takes the view that war in the former Bosnia and Herzegovina could have been avoided. The social scene is distinguished by a confusion of values: Science has been replaced by superstition, work has been replaced by smuggling, and patriotism has been replaced by chauvinism. The nationality question is at the same time a moral issue.

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[Sacic] Draskovic recently declared that the opposition, except for the SPO, and the church are supporting the war option—because they are going to Pale and giving direct support to an unreasonable policy that is suicidal for the Serbian people. How do you see the role of the church in politics?

[Panov] Religion, according to Dr. Vlade Jerotic, means allegiance to something. If we look at religion from the psychological and philosophical standpoint, it is exclusively a man's intimate affair. Bacon said that people's atheism is more on their lips than in their hearts. It seems to me that today it would be more appropriate to put it the other way—that theism or belief is more declarative, more on people's lips than in their hearts. Some theists present their theism clearly by carrying religious symbols, like banners, telling us that religious belief is in fashion. With no desire to push either theism or atheism, it seems to me that Bacon today has been refuted by the behavior of the "theists," which is quite the opposite of what is required by their religion. From the political standpoint, if the church is inspired by some eternal divine principles, then that would have to result from the principled nature of its political attitude. If political parties can be allowed to play the political stock market, and I have great moral reservations about that, certainly the church cannot practice that. There is a transparent difference between the position of the church in adopting political views in connection with the St. Vitus' Day Convention and now in connection with the peace plan. There has even been an obvious change of allies.

[Sacic] Academician Mihailo Markovic has said that the JUL is not capable of conceptualizing the prospects of Yugoslav society, because it advocates a resurrection of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia.

[Panov] I think it is the legitimate and democratic right of every man to be wrong. Academician Markovic has exercised that human right!

[Sacic] The section of the university in which you teach is supposed to nurture and encourage speaking ability. What is the quality of speechmakers on our political scene in your estimation?

[Panov] You know, it is not enough just to speak well if your fine ideas are not backed up with beneficial deeds. Eloquence is certainly an essential element of the political rating of every individual. Nevertheless, speaking well is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for attainment of a high political rating.

There are various criteria that can be used in evaluating the quality of speechmaking. In one, there will be more art for art's sake, speaking for the sake of speaking, art for art's sake, except that that undoubted beauty, the emotional nature of that presentation, abounds in absurdities and logical contradictions. In others, you find eloquence that is backed up by an ethical attitude, a noble emotionality, and human sincerity, and that is what attracts people.

The speech of President Milosevic has that virtue of devotion to principle, logical expression, clarity, it has that brave moral constancy which has not surrendered in a time of uncivilized defamation. This is speechmaking which is effective, as confirmed by the election results up to now.

[Sacic] Does the JUL have speakers?

[Panov] It does. When Prof. Mira Markovic speaks, you recognize the qualities of those aspects of her personality which I mentioned earlier: the virtue of consistency, a new creativeness to realize the ideas of freedom and justice, a vision of society that is backed up by an educated and scientific tolerance. That speech is ennobled by simplicity of expression and by the ethical nature of the content of what is said.

[Sacic] Is Dr. Djindjic a good speaker? And how does this affect his political rating?

[Panov] Djindjic has that power of eloquence, and I have noted that he has managed to replace the speech of a philosopher with speech that is accessible to the people, which, of course, requires an intellectual effort and skill. This is an objective judgment. Djindjic also had that power of eloquence when the DS [Democratic Party] was headed by Professor Micunovic, but those speeches did not immediately win him political points. Thanks to good political marketing, Djindjic has added new elements to his eloquence, and this has resulted in the success of the DS.

[Sacic] After the Founding Convention of the JUL, and after the conversation with you, I am reminded of some kind of romanticism, of a positive energy of a hippy, of a lover of rock music, so that if one day the JUL should become the meaning of life, not to say the incumbent party, because you constantly talk about equality, light, beauty, the sun...it would be logical when we visit friends that instead of petit bourgeois values, a bottle of liquor, a cheap and faded bouquet of flowers, we carry an olive branch? And, of course, the greeting would be different. For instance: Peace, brother, peace!

[Panov] The JUL is romantic and modern, and belonging to the JUL will be indubitable proof of every individual's aiming high in his style of life. So, I agree with your expectations and adjectives, not only as gentlemen!

Serbia

Democratic Party Urges Lifting of Srpska Blockade

AU0911162494 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Nov 94 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Maintenance of the Blockade Against the Srpska Republic—Support for the War"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] Prompted by the latest escalation of military operations in the region of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, President of the Democratic Party [DS] Zoran Djindjic made the following statement:

"Owing to the involvement of the Croatian Army and the direct U.S. engagement on the side of the Muslims in Bosnia, maintenance of the blockade against the Srpska republic means an offensive, because they are counting on the fact that the Srpska republic has been weakened by the blockade.

"The offensive would cease as soon as the blockade were lifted.

"The lifting of the blockade and the end of the offensive and war operations in the region of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina are the prerequisite for the continuation of the negotiating process and the achievement of lasting peace," reads the statement issued by the DS.

First Fall Parliament Session To Convene 15 Nov

LD0911141194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1304 GMT 9 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 9 Nov (TANJUG)—Dragan Tomic, speaker of the Serbian Assembly, has convened the first regular fall session of the republican parliament for Tuesday, 15 November. [passage omitted]

The Serbian Assembly deputies will also be discussing the Serbian Radical Party's proposal for a vote of no confidence in the government and the dismissal of parliament Speaker Dragan Tomic.

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